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SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change.

We shall solidly unite all the forces of our Party on democratic centralist principles of organization and discipline.

The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them.

This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula "unity, criticism, unity."

Our task now is to continue to extend and make still better use of this method throughout the ranks of the people; we want all our factories, cooperatives, business establishments, schools, government offices and public organizations, in a word, all our six hundred million people, to use it in resolving contradictions among ourselves.

On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts.

Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

We cannot just take the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace. We must break away from convention and adopt as many advanced techniques as possible in order to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state in not too long a historical period.

* * *

Master the Dialectical Method of One Dividing into Two

by

Ch'ih Heng (池恒)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

One dividing into two, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the most basic law of materialist dialectics and a sharp weapon for the proletariat and revolutionary people to understand and transform the world. While continuing the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must further grasp the theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and learn to apply the dialectical method of one dividing into two in observing and handling all problems, thoroughly criticizing Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and continuing to strengthen the great revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the whole country so as to develop the excellent situation and win still greater victories.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The interdependence of the contradictory aspects present in all things and the struggle between these aspects determine the life of all things and push their development forward. There is nothing that does not contain contradiction; without contradiction nothing would exist." There are both unity and struggle between the contradictory opposites. They promote the dynamics and transformation of things. From the viewpoint of one dividing into two, we must be good at making concrete analysis of the movement of opposites in different things and learn to look at all sides of problems, not only the positive but also the negative sides, and at their mutual transformation under given conditions. This is to say that we must practice the two-point theory instead of the one-point theory. Knowing one side but not the other; seeing the trees but not the forest; seeing certain phenomena but not seeing, or obliterating, the essential and main aspects of things, or negating the universality and particularity of contradiction and negating the process of development of things--all these are metaphysical methods of thinking which run counter to materialist dialectics.

Both during the new democratic revolution period and the socialist revolution period, Chairman Mao has always taught us to attach importance to studying and disseminating materialist dialectics and to oppose and repudiate metaphysics. He pointed out: "The task of communists is to expose the fallacies of the reactionaries and metaphysicists, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things, and so accelerate the transformation of things and achieve the goal of revolution." ("On Contradiction") He also pointed out that the question of one dividing into two must be discussed at local Party committees of all levels to enable all to learn step by step to apply this scientific method, the dialectics. As the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment have developed in depth, our understanding of these instructions of Chairman Mao's also has deepened. In the course of the three great revolutionary movements, we have won victories when acting in accordance with materialist dialectics and we have made mistakes when going against materialism

and dialectics in thinking and action. Both the positive and negative experiences of struggle have proved that mastery of the dialectical method of one dividing into two is an important guarantee for carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his various policies and for promoting the development of the cause of socialism.

In socialist society, there are still contradictions, classes, class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. This is a scientific conclusion that Chairman Mao has drawn from his analysis of the socialist society by applying the viewpoint of one dividing into two. By adhering to this viewpoint, we can correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle and take the initiative in class struggle. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, being the main contradiction, continues throughout socialist society and will not cease to exist until the whole process ends. It is precisely this contradiction that propels our society forward. We have in the main completed the socialist transformation of the system of ownership and are continuing the revolution on the political-ideological and economic fronts. We must see the protracted nature of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and the protracted nature of the struggle to combat and oppose revisionism and to conduct socialist education. Class struggle will not end in the wake of one or several major struggles. Tackling problems with another approach means negating the universality of contradiction. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie does not develop along a straight line but proceeds in a zigzag way, sometimes tense, sometimes not so tense. Like surging waves, there are ups and downs. When class struggle is riding on top of the wave, it does not mean that the strength of class enemies is powerful; when class struggle ebbs, it does not indicate the dying out of class struggle. Paying no attention to the different stages of its development means failure in understanding the particularity of contradictions and "concrete analysis of concrete conditions." For this reason, we must apply the one-dividing-into-two viewpoint to constantly sum up the experience of class struggle and the two-line struggle and deepen our understanding of the laws and characteristics of the struggle in order to be able to take appropriate steps to cope with the changed situation and win victories for the proletariat.

To turn back the wheel of history and stage a counter-revolutionary comeback, the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes and their agents within the Party have invariably resorted to the method of worshipping Confucianism and opposing Legalism and sought reactionary ideological weapons from the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Where there is worship of Confucius, there is opposition to Confucius. Opposition to Confucius exists in contrast with worship of Confucius and develops in the course of struggle. Therefore, an important task in penetratingly carrying out revolution in the sphere of the superstructure and one of our long-range fighting tasks on the ideological front at the present time is to launch revolutionary mass criticism against revisionism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. To resolutely uphold the method of one dividing into two, we must completely cast away the dross--the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius--from our national cultural heritage and throughly criticize the Confucian reactionary line of restoring the old rule, regression and national betrayal. At the same time, it is also necessary for us to make a concrete

historical class-analysis of Legalist works, affirm the progressive role played by Legalists in different historical periods, and adequately point out their historical and class limitations. The purpose of studying history is to serve proletarian politics. If we practice metaphysics, it would be impossible for us to correctly implement the principle of making the past serve the present. We must make the study of Legalist works as well as the study of history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the history of class struggle as a whole better serve the current class struggle and the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the course of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, it is necessary to adopt the dialectical method of dividing one into two to correctly distinguish between and handle the two different types of contradictions and to unite with the majority of the people. Our dictatorship of the proletariat has realized for the first time in our history the dictatorship of the overwhelming majority of people over the minority. Since it represents the fundamental interests of the masses of the people, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been ardently cherished and supported by the broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists and their agents within the Party who are hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat and oppose the socialist system constitute only a handful. This analysis and estimation conforms with the actual conditions and provides an objective foundation on which the majority of the people must and can be united by us. Regarding contradictions among the people, we must correctly handle them by adopting the formula "unity-criticism-unity" and the method of putting facts on the table and reasoning things out. The method of dividing one into two should be applied not only to ourselves but to our comrades as well. Only by so doing will it be possible for us to unite as one on the basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to fight against our common enemies. Eight years have elapsed since the great proletarian cultural revolution was launched. The overwhelming majority of the people have raised their consciousness to varying degrees in the stormy class struggle. Meanwhile, splittism advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao has profoundly educated the people by negative example to understand the importance of maintaining unity. A lot of experiences accumulated in the movement have also proved time and time again the necessity of the great revolutionary alliance. By uniting with the majority of the people on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will be able to consolidate and develop the achievements of the great cultural revolution with still better results. We do not mean to negate struggle while stressing unity. Unity comes from struggle. If we do not expose and criticize the revisionist line and counter-revolutionary crimes of such opportunist ringleaders as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, it will be impossible for us to distinguish between the correct and erroneous lines, clarify our thinking, unite with more than 95 percent of cadres and masses, and have the excellent situation as it exists today. With regard to a small number of people who have made more or less mistakes in the struggle between the two lines, we must fully understand their problems and help them realize and correct their mistakes. This is not only necessary, but it will help them progress and unite on a new basis. Therefore, we must not negate the necessity of fighting against erroneous lines, ideas and tendencies simply for reason of emphasizing the importance of unity, nor should we negate the importance of strengthening revolutionary unity because of the

necessity of such a fight. We must prevent a repetition of two types of metaphysical onesideness that had occurred in history, namely, "all for alliance, no struggle" or "all for struggle, no alliance."

Only when we master the method of dividing one into two can we correctly implement the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production. "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." To develop the socialist economy, it is necessary to adhere to the Party's basic line throughout the historical period of socialism and criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. It is necessary to adhere to the socialist road and oppose the capitalist road, to stick to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. It is necessary to criticize the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and to adhere to the various stipulations of "The Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and rectify unhealthy tendencies. All these imply ideological and political struggle. Class enemies usually resort to production sabotage in order to achieve their counter-revolutionary goal of undermining the revolution. This shows by negative example that we must do a still better job in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and conscientiously strengthen leadership over production. To grasp revolution and promote production, it is also necessary for us to correctly handle the various relations of development in the sphere of production. Acting on the general policy for the development of the national economy by "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," we should map out production plans in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. This will conform not only to the dialectics of dividing one into two but also to the objective laws of socialist construction. A developed agriculture and light industry will provide more daily necessities and funds, helping us speed up the development of heavy industry. Furthermore, since large, medium and small-sized enterprises, agriculture, forestry, livestock breeding, sideline production, and fisheries rely on each other, compete against each other and promote each other in a mutual way, it is imperative to pay attention to correctly handling the relations among them.

In the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction, each and every revolutionary cadre must arm himself with the dialectical ideology of dividing one into two in dealing with achievements and shortcomings, right decisions and wrong ones. One must neither confirm nor negate everything. To be confident of our victory, it is also highly necessary for us to see the excellent situation in revolution and confirm the achievements in our work. Since liberation, the ringleaders of the opportunist line and class enemies at home and abroad have invariably adopted the method of distorting or obliterating the excellent situation in plotting to negate the socialist system and restore capitalism. We have gained plenty of experience in struggle in this aspect. We must also see that there are still difficulties and obstacles along the road of advance, that there are

still shortcomings and mistakes in our work, and that ours is still a developing country. This will help us remain sober-minded, maintain the fine work style of modesty and prudence, and continue to make revolution and advance along the socialist orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao.

It is not too difficult to observe as well as handle problems with the dialectical method of dividing one into two. The key lies in our efforts to earnestly study the works of Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao's works in connection with the reality of the three great revolutionary movements. The theory of one dividing into two applies to all things in actual life, and dialectics exist everywhere. If we do not read and study seriously nor raise our initiative theoretically, then we will not be able to see dialectics in actual life, let alone consciously utilize the method of dividing one into two to solve real problems. The one-divides-into-two dialectics has a clear-cut proletarian Party spirit. Anyone taking a bourgeois or revisionist stand will definitely distort dialectics. Therefore, the study of materialist dialectics must be carried out in coordination with the transformation of our world outlook. We must truly convert the dialectics of one dividing into two into a weapon in our hands and make it play a powerful role in the three great revolutionary movements--class struggle, the production struggle and scientific experiments--in order to push the socialist cause forward!

* * *

Strengthen the Centralized Leadership of the Party

by

Hsüeh Lun (薛 仑)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

Strengthening the centralized leadership of the Party and making sure that the Party exercises correct leadership in ideological and political line over all fronts and departments are necessary in further developing the current excellent situation.

Eight years have passed since the great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated. In this period, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, our Party smashed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao respectively and eliminated the grave dangers hidden within the Party. In the fierce and complicated class struggle and struggle between the two lines, the vast numbers of Party members and cadres have been tested and tempered, and their Marxist theoretical level and consciousness of the struggle between the two lines have been enhanced. Party organizations at all levels have become purer and more consolidated. The unity of the whole Party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, founded on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, has been further strengthened. At present, spurred on by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, great achievements have been made on all fronts in our country, and the situation is excellent. To consolidate and develop the excellent situation, develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, thorough and sustained way, persist in carrying the socialist revolution in the superstructure--including the political, ideological and cultural spheres--through to the end, and accelerate the pace of socialist construction, we must further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party. Only by relying on strong Party leadership can we organize the proletariat and the masses of people, unite all the forces that can be united with, bring all positive factors into play, and actively and steadily win new victories under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

To practice the Party's democratic centralism is an indispensable condition for consolidating and strengthening Party leadership organizationally. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. To carry out the historical task of leading the proletariat and the working people to overthrow all exploiting classes, defeat capitalism with socialism, and ultimately achieve communism, we must get the whole Party organized with unified discipline. Revolutionary practice over the past decades has shown us that our Party has been able to lead the people to victory in the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution primarily because it has had a correct ideological and political line laid down by Chairman Mao. At the same time, the victory of our Party is inseparable from the resolute enforcement of democratic centralism throughout the Party, which assured the implementation of Chairman Mao's correct line. With a view to better implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies and strengthening the centralized leadership of the Party, it is necessary to continue to uphold

the Party's democratic centralism, in particular, to make the whole Party subordinate to the unified leadership of its Central Committee. The correct line, principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee represent the greatest interests and aspirations of the whole Party and the people of the whole country, and they must be implemented to the letter by all Party members and Party organizations at all levels, especially by leading organs, particularly high-level ones. In 1948, Chairman Mao pointed out emphatically: "It is necessary resolutely to overcome certain manifestations of indiscipline or anarchy existing in many places. There are people who, without authorization, modify the policies and tactics adopted by the Central Committee or other higher Party committees and apply extremely harmful policies and tactics which go against the united will and discipline but which they believe to be correct. There are also people who, under the pretext of work pressure, adopt the wrong attitude of neither asking for instructions before an action is taken nor submitting a report afterward and who regard the area they administer as an independent kingdom. All this is extremely harmful to the interests of the revolution." It is most necessary for us to re-study this teaching of Chairman Mao's in order to guard against the occurrence of such circumstances and consciously obey the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

To bring into fuller play the leading role of the Party as the vanguard of the proletariat is an important aspect of strengthening the centralized Party leadership. Chairman Mao has pointed out: Of the seven sectors--industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party--the Party exercises overall leadership. State organs and all revolutionary mass organizations are established by the Party according to the needs of revolutionary struggle. They are also the means by which the Party maintains contact with and leads the masses. The Party members and revolutionary elements working in these departments and mass organizations are assigned to work there by the Party and must consciously place their units and their own actions strictly under the leadership of Party committees. No department, organization or individual is permitted to claim independence from the Party. No one is permitted to do anything without the Party committee's approval. Much more important, no one is permitted to place himself above the Party committee. If there is anyone who denies that the relationship between the Party and all other sectors is one between the leader and the led, regards the two as equal or even reverses the relationship, one is bound to weaken or abolish the centralized leadership of the Party and cause damage to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. In the history of our Party, all the ringleaders of opportunist lines invariably tried their utmost to reverse the relationship between the Party and other revolutionary organizations and undermine the centralized leadership of the Party in order to push their opportunist lines. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao and company vigorously advocated the theory of "many centers," that is, the theory of "no center," tried hard to turn the departments under their control into "independent kingdoms," and plotted to usurp Party leadership and state power, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restore capitalism. We must continue to criticize the crimes of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in undermining the centralized leadership of the Party, eliminate their poisonous influence, and always uphold the correct relationship between the Party and other revolutionary organizations.

The Party exercises leadership through Party organizations at all levels. In a given area, the Party committee of that area must exercise centralized leadership over the Party organizations under its jurisdiction and other revolutionary organizations. This is an important aspect of strengthening the centralized leadership of the Party, and a tradition of our Party. In as early as the period of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao said: "The unification and centralization of leadership in the base areas should be embodied in the Party committee of each base area, which exercises unified leadership in everything." In an area, the Party committee established according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party's organizational principles is the command headquarters which exercises leadership in everything in that area. Without the correct leadership of Party committees at all levels, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party Central Committee's principles and policies cannot be implemented properly. Therefore, all departments and organizations must consciously uphold the correct leadership of local Party committees at all levels. They must not under any pretext disrupt the relationship between the Party Central Committee and local Party committees at all levels. The Party committees must also strengthen ideological education among the Party members and bring into play the role of Party members and Party organizations under their jurisdiction. Of course, local Party committees at all levels may have shortcomings and make mistakes of various sorts. Every Party member and revolutionary should take the stand of the Party and the attitude of being answerable to the Party, positively and in a practical way help the Party committees correct their mistakes in order to further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party.

All those who really want to make socialist revolution must firmly establish the Party concept in their minds. The Chinese Communist Party founded and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great, glorious and correct Party. In the past 25 years, in leading the Chinese people to carry out struggles in socialist revolution and socialist construction, our Party has repeatedly proved this truth: "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." If we uphold the centralized leadership of the Party and correctly handle the relationship between the Party and other sectors and between the Party organizations and individuals, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line will be implemented smoothly, the revolution will develop, and our struggle will be victorious. If we weaken or divorce ourselves from the Party's correct leadership, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line will face interference, the revolution will suffer setbacks, and our fruits of victory can be lost again. It is precisely because of this ironclad fact that the vast numbers of Party members and the masses of the people have boundless faith in our Party and consciously accept its leadership. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, our Party's prestige has soared and the Party concept of the cadres and the masses has been further enhanced. However, due to the poisonous influence of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, who did their utmost to undermine Party leadership, and the corrosive ideas of the exploiting classes in society, some comrades have failed to establish a firm Party concept. Consciously or unconsciously, a small number of Party members are asserting "independence" from the Party, going against democratic centralism and the mass line, quoting the Party's policies, decisions and instructions out of context or distorting them to suit their

own needs, and so forth. All these erroneous tendencies resulting from a lack of Party concept must be overcome. We should carry out education among the vast numbers of Party members and the revolutionary masses to enhance their Party concept and observe Party discipline, so that all will firmly establish the concept that the Party must exercise leadership in everything and so that all fronts and all sectors--the Party, the government, the army, the mass organizations and cultural and educational institutions, whether in the east, west, south, north or center of our country--will consciously follow the centralized leadership of the Party.

Regarding Party committees at all levels, to strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party requires that each of them become a strong and unified core of leadership, a Party committee that is united as one and holds fast to principle. Without this, centralized leadership is just empty talk.

Chairman Mao points out: "We must build a centralized, unified Party and make a clear sweep of all unprincipled factional struggles. We must combat individualism and sectarianism so as to enable our whole Party to march in step and fight for one common goal." Chairman Mao's instruction is entirely applicable to the ideological and organizational building of the Party committees themselves. To lead the vast numbers of Party members and the masses to fight and build toward a common revolutionary goal, a Party committee, as a leading organ of the Party at a certain level, must keep itself highly centralized and unified and make its "squad" march in step and unite as one man. Within a Party committee, both the secretary and the members must consciously guide their own thoughts and actions with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, insist on unity and oppose division. They must insist on uniting with comrades from "five lakes and four seas" and oppose the mountain-stronghold mentality and sectarianism. They must uphold the proletarian Party spirit and oppose bourgeois factionalism, insist on being responsible in their work to the Party and the people, and oppose any irresponsible working attitude. The "squad" members of a Party committee are elected to the Party's leading organ according to the Party's needs and the organizational principles stipulated in the Party Constitution. Although they may have come from different places, joined the Party in different periods, and had different experiences of struggle, once they have joined the leading body of the Party committee and taken up specific leading tasks assigned by the Party, they must take the interests of the Party as the only criterion for weighing their own speeches and actions. They must strictly follow the proletarian Party spirit and overcome bourgeois individualism and sectarianism. With regard to their work, they must stick to their working posts and strive to do a good job. They must always be on guard against the class enemies' conspiracies to split and undermine the unity of the Party.

To enable a Party committee to march in step and exercise centralized leadership, it is very important that the secretary and the committee members should communicate with each other, exchange information, achieve a common language, understand and support each other in work, and take the initiative to assume responsibilities. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Nothing is more important than mutual understanding, support and friendship between the secretary and the committee members, between the Central Committee and its

regional bureaus, and between the regional bureaus and the area Party committees." Practice has shown that as long as we act according to Chairman Mao's instructions and the Party's organizational principles, set great store by the interests of the Party and the generation situation, and act without any selfish considerations, it is entirely possible for us to solve some problems or differences of opinions within the Party committee promptly and thereby great enhance the fighting capacity of the Party committee. In this, the secretary should take the lead and set a good example. Some comrades within a Party committee may have made mistakes, even serious ones, in their work. Instead of blaming them, we must unite and work with them. Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us: It is necessary to adhere to the policy of "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness in order to save the patient," and to hold fast to the guideline of 'unity, criticism, unity,'" It is essential to allow one to make mistakes and correct them. As for comrades guilty of mistakes, as long as they do not persist in but are willing to correct their mistakes, we should welcome them. This is a valuable tradition of our Party and a sign that our Party is vigorous and flourishing.

To strengthen the Party's centralized leadership, it is necessary to struggle against all the trends which run counter to the interests of the Party and the people. The Party committees must dare to adhere to principle and oppose all the mistaken words and actions that run counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, or else they will give up their leadership responsibilities. We must fully trust and rely on the masses. At the same time, we must adhere to the Party's principle and untiringly guide the revolutionary struggle of the masses with the Party's line, principles and policies. It is necessary to persistently use the work method of "from the masses, to the masses," and conscientiously carry out investigation and study. As for the opinions from the organizations at lower levels and from the masses, we must actively support and ardently encourage them if they are correct. We must carry out ideological work meticulously and conduct criticism and education if they are incorrect and incompatible with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. As for the attacks of the class enemies, we must arouse the masses to struggle against and fully expose them. To go against the tide is a principle of Marxism-Leninism. Adherence to this principle will insure thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and is entirely compatible with strengthening the Party's centralized leadership.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. The most basic way to strengthen the Party's centralized leadership is to exercise leadership by a correct ideological and political line; to further place Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in command of the actions of the whole Party, the whole army, and the people throughout the nation; and to do a still better job in the development of socialist revolution and construction. By adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will be able to vigorously develop our socialist cause and overcome all kinds of difficulties. Even if there appear some shortcomings or mistakes on our road of advance, it will not be difficult to rectify them.

All Party committees must grasp the implementation of the Party's correct line and policies as the most important task to be done well. As Chairman Mao teaches us, we must be good at transforming the Party's line and policies into the conscious actions of the masses, and master well this Marxist-Leninist art of leadership. It is necessary to unite with more than 95 percent of the cadres and masses and channel into the militant tasks put forward by Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee the soaring revolutionary enthusiasm of the cadres and people generated from the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Party members are members of the proletarian vanguard. Each one of them must conscientiously strengthen his Party spirit of the proletariat in line with the Party Constitution and become a model in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in observing the Party's discipline, and in achieving unity within the Party. Under the centralized leadership of the Party, we must unite more closely the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, and create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

The movement is developing, and new things are emerging continuously. Let us unite closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, strengthen the Party's centralized leadership, and further develop the favorable situation and the revolutionary cause of socialism.

* * *

Correctly Handle the Relationship Between Unity and Struggle

by

Li Hsin (黎新)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

It is a major revolutionary task and Chairman Mao's great strategic plan to strengthen the unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country and to develop the current excellent situation. While continuing to develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, all Party members and all cadres as well as revolutionary comrades on all fronts must go on raising their consciouensss of the line and make new contributions to safeguarding and strengthening revolutionary unity.

Chairman Mao points out: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people, and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." The in-depth development of our socialist revolution and the victories won in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have laid a sound foundation for the unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Eight years of the great proletarian cultural revolution have fully demonstrated the great power of revolutionary unity, made us more intensely aware of the detrimental nature of splittism practiced by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and enabled us to understand the vital importance of maintaining our revolutionary unity. Only through unity can we isolate and deal blows to the handful of class enemies to the fullest extent. Only through unity can we guarantee the thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. And only when we are united is it possible to win continuous victories in our socialist cause. We are now undertaking the great task of defeating capitalism with socialism and eliminating classes and the system of exploitation of man by man. This cannot be done by relying on only a few people, but by uniting with the great majority of people within the four seas. In building socialism, apart from having Party leadership and a correct line, mobilization of the masses is a decisive factor. With more views put forward by more people, everyone's enthusiasm will be raised and his work zeal will be greater. The socialist cause can be carried out successfully only when the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country are concerned with unity.

Unity cannot be separated from struggle. Revolutionary unity is achieved in the course of struggle against the class enemies waged by the proletariat and revolutionary masses under the leadership of the Party; it is continuously consolidated and developed amid the acute struggle against the erroneous line and ideology and against divisive tendencies. If we try to unite without struggle, we will not be able to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and between right and wrong. On the other hand, if we struggle without uniting together, it will be impossible to organize millions and millions of people into a mighty revolutionary army. We should therefore pay attention to both struggle and unity and correctly handle the relationship between the two.

In our society, those who support and warmly cherish the socialist system of proletarian dictatorship form the vast majority of the population, while class enemies who are hostile to and sabotage it constitute only a tiny minority. In order to triumph over the bourgeoisie and the enemies at home and abroad, the proletariat should unite within its own class, with its own allies, and with over 95 percent of cadres and the masses under the Party leadership. This is the basic guarantee of victory. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, led by Chairman Mao, our Party has waged one great struggle after another against both the domestic and international class enemies. In particular, there have been four major struggles between the two lines, which have exposed and shattered the conspiratorial activities of the chieftains of the opportunist line, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, in splitting the Party and restoring capitalism. Each struggle has educated the vast numbers of Party members and the masses and united the great majority of cadres and the masses, making the Party purer and the dictatorship of the proletariat more consolidated. Ringleaders of the revisionist line, who practiced division and not unity, did not come to a good end because what they did disagreed with the wishes and demands of the masses of people and the fundamental interests of the proletariat. Demand for unity, opposition to a split, getting united for the purpose of opposing and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and adhering to the socialist road--these have become the cherished desire of the people and the Party. The class enemies are constantly racking their brains to undermine the unity of the revolutionary ranks in order to attain their counter-revolutionary goals. We must consciously stick to the fundamental principle of uniting ourselves and attacking the enemy, make a deep and thorough criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, the ideology of the declining reactionary classes, and deprive the class enemy of any opportunity to split the revolutionary ranks.

The formula "unity, criticism, unity" put forward by Chairman Mao profoundly generalizes the dialectical relationship between unity and struggle among the people. It is the correct method, one that has been proved by history, for us to resolve the contradictions within the Party and among the people. Due to the existence of classes and class struggle in society and the difference of people's class stands, social positions and world outlooks, there inevitably are contradictions in thinking and action within the Party and revolutionary ranks. Absolute unity is impossible, and criticism and struggle are and will always be needed. "A world without differences" has not existed and will never exist. Our principle is to start from the desire for unity, resolve contradictions through criticism or struggle, and arrive at a new unity on a new basis. The contradictions among the people are varied and need concrete analysis. These include differences in ideological-political line, major controversies over what road to take. For instance, what attitude should one take toward the great proletarian cultural revolution and toward the newborn socialist things? To handle such disputes, it is necessary to stick to principle, unfold criticism and struggle, and distinguish between the correct and erroneous lines--only then will contradictions be solved. It is impossible to arrive at a real unity if we fail to see the differences in principle among the people and fail to launch an active ideological struggle, but only practice compromises on the question of line. To settle disputes and

differences among the people on certain issues, it is necessary to conduct self-criticism rather than talk about others' shortcomings and not to entangle ourselves in side issues to the detriment of line. Sometimes when some opinions cannot be unified for the time being, we should also set great store by the overall revolutionary situation and seek common grounds on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones. Provided that no harm is done to the major principles of Marxism, it is entirely necessary that opinions that can be accepted should be accepted while giving up one's own opinions that can be given up. In this way we shall certainly be able to unite together to cope with the enemy on the basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

In dealing with those comrades who have made more or less mistakes during the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, correctly handling the relationship between unity and struggle is an important question concerning whether we can unite the vast majority or not. Their mistakes are harmful to the revolution and to socialism, but educated by the Party and helped by the masses, they may or can overcome their mistakes. With regard to these comrades, we should not only have a desire to unite with them but should also wage a necessary struggle with a view to achieving this desire so as to attain the two-fold purpose of clarity in ideology and unity of comrades. Chairman Mao's policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" contains these two aspects--unity and struggle. We should conscientiously carry it out.

When some comrades guilty of mistakes come forward and once again dedicate themselves to new work after basically clarifying their problems, this will benefit them in continually transforming themselves in the practice of struggle and will also benefit the proletarian revolutionary cause. But this does not mean to negate the criticism of and struggle against their mistakes; on the contrary, it indicates that this kind of criticism and struggle is absolutely necessary and can produce very fruitful results. If we had not launched the great proletarian cultural revolution, the errant comrades would have gone farther along the revisionist track. It was because of the criticism and struggle against their mistakes by the revolutionary masses in this great struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism that they were saved from the mire of revisionism and have enhanced their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. As some errant comrades have learned from their own experiences, it is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line which has pointed out the direction for them to continue revolution, and it is the criticism and struggle carried out by the Party organizations and the revolutionary masses that has cleared the bourgeois, revisionist dust from their bodies. Such understanding can turn into a motive force for their continuing the revolution. As long as we correctly handle the relationship between unity and struggle, we can enable the comrades who have erred to turn negative factors into positive ones and to work with fresh merit for the Party and the people in new battles.

While criticizing Lin Piao's revisionist line in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the masses in some units or areas have exposed and criticized the problems regarding the ideological and political line on the part of certain leading comrades as well as their unhealthy style of bureaucratism and of divorcing themselves from the masses. This is fine. Correct treatment of the masses' criticism by leaders at all levels is an important aspect of correctly handling the relationship between unity and struggle. Ours is a socialist country based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, and the laboring masses are the masters of our country. It is their right to exercise revolutionary supervision over the Party and state cadres by using the "four big weapons" [big contending, big blooming, big-character posters, and big debates]. It reflects their high sense of responsibility toward the revolutionary cause and manifests their concern and loving care for the leaders. Is there anything wrong for the masses to expose the shortcomings and mistakes of leading comrades at all levels? It can help us eliminate the influence of the revisionist line, overcome our shortcomings, improve our work, and carry forward the style of work of forging close ties with the masses. We must have faith in the masses, rely on them, and warmly welcome their criticism and supervision. In the face of their criticism and suggestions, we should emphatically set strict demands on and examine ourselves ideologically and in connection with the line. If we have made mistakes, we should correct them; if we have none, we should improve ourselves more. Toward the masses, we must be good in carrying out our work of forging revolutionary unity, and we must be both daring and good at airing our views on unhealthy tendencies. We cannot let things take their natural course, still less support one group of people in suppressing another. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the capitalist roaders incited the masses to set upon each other and split the revolutionary ranks. We must never forget this lesson. Each and every leading cadre should have a correct attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, toward himself and the masses, and, in particular, toward those who have criticized him. He should resolutely protect the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, and under no circumstances must he attack or retaliate against the masses. In this way, we will certainly be able to unite and lead the broad masses of people still more properly to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies.

To correctly handle the relationship between unity and struggle, it is necessary to persist in the two-point theory, not the one-point theory. Unity and struggle are opposites of a unity. To one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other entails either "Left" or Right-deviationist mistakes. Such one-sidedness has occurred many times in the history of our Party. In the later part of the First Revolutionary Civil War period, the policy of "all alliance, no struggle" toward the bourgeoisie advocated by Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism brought about a defeat of our revolution. Our Party opposed and corrected Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line. Later, Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line which advocated "all struggle, no alliance" likewise caused serious damage to the revolution. Wang Ming's "Left" deviation was opposed and corrected by our Party in the later part of the Second Revolutionary Civil War period. But during the early period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he went back to Ch'en

Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism of "all alliance, no struggle" by advocating "everything through the united front" and "everything subordinate to the united front." What was advocated by these chieftains of opportunist lines diametrically ran counter to the Marxist policy of "combining the two aspects--alliance and struggle" set forth by Chairman Mao. On the question of inner-Party struggle, both Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao trumpeted the theory of "inner-Party peace" and "the doctrine of the mean" on the one hand while carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting at the many in order to protect a few" on the other. All this was diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's principles of "unity, criticism, unity," "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "cure the sickness to save the patient." As it was pointed out in the political report to the 10th Party Congress, "Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten." We should pay attention to absorbing historical experiences and lessons and, while paying attention to one main tendency, we must not lose sight of another that may be covered up. Talking about struggle but denying unity or talking about unity but denying struggle is, in essence, to cut apart a pair of opposites--unity and struggle, although these two tendencies are expressed in different forms. In either case, it is a manifestation of metaphysics. Both come to the same end, which is harmful to the development of our revolutionary struggle, to revolutionary unity, and to the fulfillment of the Party's tasks.

Whether or not we can correctly handle the relationship between unity and struggle is not only a question of method but also a question of which class' world outlook we should uphold. We should painstakingly study the works by Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao, persist in the materialist dialectics of one dividing into two, overcome idealism and metaphysics, and earnestly strengthen the great revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and vigorously strive for still greater victories under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

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Correctly Assess the Objective Situation

- Some understanding from studying Chairman Mao's military writings

by

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To carry out investigations and study modestly, assess the objective situation correctly and adopt appropriate measures in order to master the initiative--this is a brilliant idea that has been repeatedly explained by Chairman Mao in his many military writings. Dialectically integrating the subjective guidance of war and objective facts, this idea of Chairman Mao's is a concrete application of Marxist dialectical materialism in the military field. To make a serious study of Chairman Mao's military writings and try hard to comprehend and master this idea during the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is of vital significance in devastatingly criticizing Lin Piao's revisionist line, thoroughly revealing the ultra-Right essence of his bourgeois military line, and successfully carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction.

History tells that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but in struggle. And it is necessary to fight against "Left" opportunism on the one hand and Right opportunism on the other. How to size up the objective conditions and handle the contradiction between subjective guidance and objective reality has been an issue of the constant struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the "Left" and Right opportunist lines in the history of our Party. The opportunists do not know that "military laws, like the laws of other things, are a reflection of objective reality in our brains," nor do they understand that correct political and military lines and strategic and tactical policies and principles are founded on the basis of a correct assessment of objective conditions. Therefore, in his many military writings Chairman Mao, while dealing with Marxist strategic and tactical principles, has always propounded the dialectical relationship between these principles and objective conditions, pointing out the error and danger of "Left" and Right opportunist idealism and mechanism in war. He has always taught us the need to draw experience from the struggle between the two lines, to "modestly study and correctly size up the objective conditions," and to adopt measures appropriate to the objective conditions of a given place and time from strategic policies to campaign dispositions all the way down to the time and location of advance or withdrawal in each battle, the deployment of military power, the use of the reserve force, and the choice of the direction of surprise attack. In studying Chairman Mao's military writings, we must study not only the Marxist-Leninist strategic and tactical principles as explained by Chairman Mao but also how he, in setting these principles, applies the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to a correct analysis of the objective conditions and put these principles into practice.

To modestly study and correctly assess the objective conditions and to strive to make the subjective conform to the objective--this is a basic

principle of the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge. Applying this principle to guiding revolution and war in the protracted revolutionary struggles, Chairman Mao has not only formulated for our Party a general line and general policy for each revolutionary period but also laid down various specific lines and specific policies, formulated a correct military line and military policies and set forth a series of strategic and tactical principles. These included a series of policies and principles such as "luring the enemy in deep" and "retreat when the enemy advances, harass him when he is stationary, attack him when he is worn down, and pursue him when he retreats" in strategic defense during the Second Revolutionary Civil War period; the policies of waging a defensive protracted war and campaigns on the interior lines strategically and fighting offensive battles of quick decision on the exterior lines tactically and a whole set of specific policies to go with them during the War of Resistance Against Japan; the strategic policy of destroying the enemy's effective strength as the chief objective and the "ten principles of military operations" during the Liberation War period; and the strategic policies of "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony" and "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" during the socialist revolution period. All these emerged from a correct analysis of the internal and external situations and the balance of strength between the enemy and ourselves in political, economic and military terms and in terms of people's support and geographical conditions. This is a scientific summation of the experiences of revolutionary struggles of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, conducted on the basis of compatibility between the subjective and the objective, and is a concrete application and major development of Marxism-Leninism in China's revolutionary struggles.

Chairman Mao has said: "A commander's correct dispositions stem from his correct decisions, his correct decisions stem from his correct judgments, and his correct judgments stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance. He applies all possible and necessary methods of reconnaissance, and ponders over the information gathered about the enemy's situation, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside; then, he takes the conditions on his own side into account, and makes a study of both sides and their interrelations, thereby forming his judgments, making up his mind and working out his plans. Such is the complete process of knowing a situation which a military man goes through before he formulates a strategic plan, a campaign plan or a battle plan." This analysis by Chairman Mao profoundly and incisively points to the process of knowledge and the essential conditions for the emergence of correct dispositions. They are necessary not only for all correct military dispositions but also for all correct political and economic dispositions and dispositions in other fields of work. On past occasions opportunists adopted wrong strategic and tactical principles in war and unavoidably suffered setbacks because they went against this process of knowing a situation and consequently fell victim to idealism and mechanism on questions of war. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the so-called "new principles" and "regular principles" embodied in Wang Ming's line were a product of integration of such idealism and mechanism. And like those of all opportunists, Lin Piao's so-called strategy and tactics were

formulated in this way. For instance, in the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, he began to entertain Right pessimistic views about the future of the revolution, opposed the establishment of Red regimes, and favored the roving rebel-type "mobile guerrilla warfare"; later, he followed Wang Ming's line and advocated the so-called "short thrusts and surprise attack" in setting one fortress against another. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he advanced the so-called "lessons" and "experience" of fighting tough regular battles, and in the early days of the War of Liberation, he set forth the so-called "six tactical principles" which were opposed to Chairman Mao's military line. These principles were characterized in the main by a breach between the subjective and the objective and by the separation of knowledge from practice. Far from being founded on a correct assessment of objective conditions, they were produced by sheer subjective imagination and willful speculations. Hence, they were all anti-Marxist things separated from objective reality. In the words of Lin Piao himself, these "tactical principles" were produced by his "strong imaginative power" and his "habit of linking things up," with one "thought out" today and another tomorrow. This was a self-exposure of his anti-Marxist, idealist transcendentalism.

A correct assessment of the objective situation largely results from a correct estimation of our strength and that of the enemy as well as other relevant conditions. "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat." To observe and study with an open mind the inner connection of the political, economic, military and geographical factors of the enemy and ours, find out the laws inherent in them, work out a correct assessment and, on this basis, formulate policies, plans and strategy and tactics in conformity with these conditions and apply them to our own actions--this is the basic way to win the victory in a revolutionary war. The two opposing sides in a war invariably try hard to seize the initiative and win the victory, and avoid passivity and defeat. But where do initiative and victory come? They "come from a correct assessment of the situation (regarding the enemy and ourselves) and correct military and political arrangements." In waging a revolutionary war, a revolutionary class, even if it is in an inferior and passive position, should try to correctly assess the various conditions of the enemy and its own and make its subjective guidance conform to objective reality. In that case, "both initiative and victory, given the exertion of subjective efforts in accordance with actual conditions and under given conditions, can be seized from the hands of those who are in a superior and active position." On the contrary, if it makes a pessimistic assessment of the objective situation and adopts negative measures, or if it makes an excessively optimistic assessment and adopts risky measures, then even if it is in a superior and active position, it cannot avoid finding itself in a passive position and suffering setbacks or even defeats. The Chinese revolutionary war has gone through a difficult and tortuous course, tempered and tested both by activity and passivity, victory and defeat. The difficult and tortuous course of the war proves that whenever we adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, correctly assessed the situations regarding the enemy and ourselves, and adopted strategic and tactical principles appropriate to the conditions of a given time and place, we would win victories in war and the revolution would develop, and conversely, that whenever we departed from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and were swayed

by the opportunist line which was at variance with the objective conditions, we would suffer defeats in war and the revolution would suffer loss. The reason the great Chinese revolutionary war has finally emerged victorious after a difficult and tortuous course is precisely that, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have surmounted the "Left" and Right opportunist lines, adhered to the dialectical unity between the subjective and the objective, knowledge and practice and knowing and doing, and adopted correct political and military lines and correct strategic and tactical principles appropriate to the objective conditions.

Battles that should have been won were lost, and work that should have been done well was done badly. Why? Traced to the root of knowledge, the reason was that subjective guidance did not correspond with the objective facts. When two armies fight each other, one wins and the other loses. The one wins either because it is strong or because it has good command; the other loses either because it is weak or because it has bad command. What is meant by good command is that the commander' s reconnaissance, judgments and decisions as well as his arrangements made in light of various changed conditions more or less correspond with the situation of both sides and are favorable to his side and unfavorable to the other side. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In seeking victory, those who direct a war cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the objective conditions; within these limitations, however, they can and must play a dynamic role in striving for victory. The stage of action for commanders in a war must be built upon objective possibilities, but on that stage they can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and color, power and grandeur." This calls for a correct assessment of objective conditions and the adoption of appropriate measures in accordance with these conditions. This is true of fighting a war as it is of doing work. In scattering his net, a fisherman must find out the depth of the water, the speed of the current and whether there are obstacles standing in the way. In growing crops, a farmer must adopt measures in the light of the nature of the soil, the characteristics of the seeds, and the changes of the seasons. In directing a revolutionary movement and engaging in revolutionary work, we must also find out the actual conditions of this movement and work, and set our working policies in accordance with the objective laws governing the development of things and not by sheer subjective desires. In short, work must be done more efficiently, things must be achieved more satisfactorily, and more battles must be won in a war. Here the key lies in properly combining the subjective and the objective.

As Chairman Mao points out, in the military history of our army, "there often appear two tendencies: One is to under-estimate the enemy, the other to be awed by the enemy." Both these two tendencies grow out of the failure to correctly assess the objective conditions and to make the subjective knowledge conform to the objective reality. The former tendency over-estimates oneself and under-estimates the enemy, while the latter over-estimates the enemy and under-estimates the revolutionary strength. Chairman Mao has always encouraged us to be commanders who are intelligent and brave. To be intelligent and brave means to be able to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to examine and assess the prevailing situation and handle the problems, not to be awed by the arrogant enemy and not to

under-estimate the enemy when our going is smooth but to be able to "know thoroughly the various conditions regarding the enemy and ourselves, find out the laws of action, and put these laws to practice." Historically, opportunists have gone down in defeat because they knew neither the enemy nor themselves. Taking the bourgeois stand, they had no respect for objective facts. Failing to proceed from reality, they did not know how, nor were they willing, to carry out the necessary reconnaissance into the situation of the enemy and to thoroughly ponder on the situation of both sides and their interrelations. Instead, they built their plans and actions on a subjective basis. The result was that they either practiced Right capitulationism at the outset or headed from adventurism to conservatism and flightism, ultimately ending up as pessimists. Proof of this can be found in the history of the Chinese revolutionary war. Lin Piao called for "violent attack and thrusts," "irrespective of whether you know the situation clearly or not" and "no matter what the consequences." He even said absurdly: "If defeat is our lot, then let it come." This is wild talk of an adventurer and pessimist. Criticizing it, Chairman Mao has said: "The theory and practice of a man of reckless action or a layman do not have the slightest Marxist flavor and are anti-Marxist." This anti-Marxist way of doing things will ultimately lead to Right opportunism in the military field.

To correctly assess the objective conditions and make the subjective agree with the objective, an important problem is to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Objective things change constantly, and so also do the conditions of war, including the various factors of both sides. Different times, different geographical conditions and different targets of fighting give rise to different circumstances, constituting special laws of war. To make the subjective guidance of war agree with the reality, it is necessary to study these different conditions and the special circumstances and special nature of war in different historical stages, in different environments and different conditions. Only thus will it be possible to adopt political and military measures suited to the conditions of war and to exercise correct guidance. "It is well known that when you do anything, unless you understand its actual circumstances, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws governing it, or know how to do it, or be able to do it well." If we refuse to make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, do not find out concrete contradictions from concrete conditions and the concrete methods for resolving these contradictions, then, when we guide work we will make a mess of work, and when we direct a war, we will go down in defeat. This has been proved by historical experience.

In the Second Revolutionary Civil War which mainly took the form of "encirclement and suppression" and counter-"encirclement and suppression," our army was able to victoriously smash four frantic "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries, and yet it suffered grave loss during the fifth counter-"encirclement and suppression" struggle. The reason for this was that in the first four struggles, led by Chairman Mao or influenced by Chairman Mao's correct strategic policies, we adopted strategic and tactical principles appropriate to the concrete conditions of that time and that place, but in the fifth struggle, with

opportunism rejecting Chairman Mao's leadership, measures inappropriate to the concrete conditions of that time and place were adopted. Chairman Mao not only concretely analyzed the fact that the Second Revolutionary Civil War was different from wars in general in ancient and modern times and in China and elsewhere, from the revolutionary war of the Soviet Union and China's northern expeditionary war and, on this basis, formulated correct strategic policies and principles suited to the prevailing circumstances; but in directing the various campaigns he also took into account the different conditions and adopted different methods of fighting in accordance with the different situations of the enemy and our side as well as different geographical features. As a result, we victoriously smashed the enemy's "encirclement and suppression." The opportunists did not understand that "Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism." The strategic policies of so-called "regular warfare" embodied in Wang Ming's line which ruled during the fifth counter-"encirclement and suppression" period, and Lin Piao's "short thrusts and surprise attack" in following Wang Ming's line, were divorced from the concrete conditions of that time and place. When the Kuomintang army changed its military principles, the Wang Ming line did not call for adoption of appropriate measures to cope with the changed conditions, nor did it dare to call for attacks against the enemy's rear when such opportunity presented itself or for boldly luring the enemy in deep and then wiping him out. Instead, it returned to the "rut" of normal regular warfare, calling for "attack on the entire front," "disperse the troops for defense," "set up defense works everywhere," and "short thrusts and surprise attack" in order to "keep the enemy outside the door." This exactly suited the needs of the reactionary Kuomintang army, a big favor to the enemy.

"What is meant by analysis is analysis of contradictions in things." It is only when we make a concrete analysis of the interdependent relationship between the two opposites of a contradiction, the conditions of struggle, the characteristics and development of both aspects of a contradiction and their connection with matters outside that we can master the dialectics inherent in things and find the concrete means of settling the contradiction. In the War of Resistance Against Japan, why was it that we had to enforce the policy of waging a defensive protracted war on the interior lines strategically and fighting offensive battles of quick decision on the exterior lines tactically? Why was it the only correct policy? In his "On Protracted War" and other writings Chairman Mao provided us with scientific answers through a comparative study of basic characteristics of contradictions between the enemy and ourselves relating to military and economic strength and capacity of political organization, the physical size and population of the country, socio-political progress or regression, and degree of international support. Both the adherents of the "theory of national subjugation" and the "theory of quick victory" failed to see the existence of strong points and shortcomings of both sides, China and Japan, the mutually contradictory factors and their interrelations. The adherents of the "theory of national subjugation," blind to the strength of the people, did not see or were unwilling to see the progress of China and its international support and the regression of Japan and its lack of international support. They mentioned only the relative strength and weakness and magnified them as the whole. Adherents of the "theory of quick victory," on the other hand,

dared not admit the fact that the enemy was strong and we were weak or exaggerated our strong points out of all proportions. Both of them committed the errors of subjectivism and one-sidedness. The successful experiences of the eight-year War of Resistance Against Japan, as well as the expansion of the liberated areas and the growth of the people's armed strength, proved the complete correctness of Chairman Mao's analysis and declared total bankruptcy to the "theory of national subjugation" and "theory of quick victory."

In the final analysis, whether one can correctly assess the objective situation and make subjective guidance agree with objective reality is a question of stand and world outlook. Why is it that there have all along been two different conclusions for the analysis of objective conditions and estimation of the strength of various classes in the history of our Party? The basic reason lies here. Different stands, different world outlooks and different ways of looking at a problem produce different conclusions and lead to the formulation of different lines, policies, principles and plans. The proletariat is the most advanced, greatest and most farsighted class in the history of mankind. Only when one takes the stand of this class and uses its world outlook, namely, Marxist-Leninist dialectical and historical materialism, to observe and analyze problems can one stand high and see far, grasp the essence of things from the intricate and complicated phenomena, make the subjective knowledge reflect the original features of objective things, and so arrive at a correct estimation. While leading the Chinese revolutionary struggle, Chairman Mao has correctly forecast the trends of development on the basis of his analysis of the situations of the enemy and ourselves at each historical juncture, and set forth correct lines, guidelines, policies and strategic and tactical principles. The reason is precisely that he has persistently integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. On the other hand, the reason why the opportunists entertained pessimistic views about or blindly optimistic estimates of the revolutionary situation and advanced Right or "Left" lines, guidelines and policies was that they were influenced by the bourgeois stand and idealist, metaphysical world outlook. In the years of the revolutionary war, Lin Piao used to over-estimate the counter-revolutionary strength and underestimate the strength of the revolutionary people, and had been consistently Right-deviating. As early as in the period of the Chingkangshan struggle, he doubted "how long the red flag will be flying". In the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, he executed the Wang Ming line, and during the War of Resistance Against Japan, he pinned all hope on the regular warfare of the Kuomintang, echoing Wang Ming's Right opportunism of "everything through the united front" and "everything subordinated to the united front." By the third year of the War of Liberation, when Chairman Mao made the great dispositions for decisive engagements with the Kuomintang reactionaries, Lin Piao still failed to perceive the marked changes which were favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy in the nationwide political, military and economic situation, nor did he see the exceedingly excellent situation of the Northeast theater. Taking the bourgeois stand, he was opposed to Chairman Mao's strategic dispositions. He objected to Chairman Mao's concepts of operation regarding the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns, and dared not carry out decisive engagements with the Kuomintang army. Such was a big exposure of Lin Piao's landlord-bourgeois stand and reactionary

world outlook. The victories of the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns were great victories for Chairman Mao's proletarian military line, which defeated Lin Piao's bourgeois military line.

Summing up the experience of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Chairman Mao pointed out incisively: "Our eyesight is not enough and we should seek the help of the telescope and miscroscope. The Marxist method is the telescope and miscroscope in political and military matters." In the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must draw on the historical experience of the two-line struggle and, bearing in mind the realities of the three great revolutionary movements, strive to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and transform our world outlook. In this way, we shall be able to raise our consciousness of the two-line struggle and adhere to the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism. We shall be able, too, to correctly size up the objective conditions, scientifically analyze the situation and characteristics of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, and continue to make our subjective knowledge compatible with objective facts. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as well as in the struggle against class enemies at home and abroad, we must, guided by the prevailing circumstances, continue to win new victories, and thus we shall be able to adhere to the correct political orientation, do revolutionary work well, and forever advance along the socialist broad path.

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On the Struggle between Patriotism and National Betrayal during the Northern Sung Period

by

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In the course of Wang An-shih's reform, the Confucian and the Legalist schools fought a violent battle not only on the question of whether to stick to or change old things but also on dealing with the predatory, aggressive wars unleashed by the ruling groups of the Liao and Hsihsia aristocrats from the north of our country. While the Legalists represented by Wang An-shih adhered to a patriotic line, the Confucians headed by Ssuma Kuang hoisted the traitorous white flag. However, from the conservative scholars of the Sung dynasty to the renegade and traitor Lin Piao, all of them have distorted historical facts, lauding Ssuma Kuang for his merit in selling out the country and attacking Wang An-shih for his guilt in loving the country. It is entirely necessary to use the Marxist viewpoint to explain the patriotic nature of Wang An-shih's reform if we are to clearly define the boundary line between patriotism and national betrayal in both historical and contemporary sense and to make a thorough criticism of Lin Piao's traitorous line.

I

In the middle period of the Northern Sung dynasty, Wang An-shih, guided by the Legalist ideology, set in motion a political movement aimed at making the country strong through reform. Wang An-shih, as his reform proved, was an outstanding patriot in feudal China. Chairman Mao points out: "The concrete content of patriotism is determined by given historical conditions." Under the historical conditions in Northern Sung, whether one was a patriot or a traitor should be judged by whether he advocated resistance or capitulation in face of the aggressive threats from the reactionary ruling groups of Liao and Hsihsia in the north of our country.

The period in which Wang An-shih lived was marked by most acute class and national contradictions. In particular, the Liao regime founded by the Ch'itan (Kitan) nobles in the north and the Hsihsia regime founded by the Tanghsiang nobles in the Northwest posed grave threats to the Sung dynasty. The people of Liao and Hsihsia later merged with the people of the Han nationality and made tremendous contributions to the development of the Chinese nation and the consolidation of Chinese borders. At that time, however, the Liao and Hsihsia political regimes were feudal military regimes heavily weighed down by vestiges of the slave system; they continued to unleash predatory, aggressive wars against the agricultural regions on the Central Plains, causing serious damage to the economic development of the Northern Sung society. Those who suffered the most were the laboring people of Northern Sung, who were subject not only to the brutal exploitation by the big landlords of the Han Nationality but also to the armed plunder by the Ch'itan aristocratic group. Under such double oppression, they were living a hellish life. As Wang An-shih

described it, "the people of Hopei, living near the border, have suffered for a long time. Families raise their children to learn farming and weaving and supply them to the government to resist the barbarians."(1) Therefore, the vast masses of the laboring people of Northern Sung were resolute in calling for resistance. "For generations they have been living along the border and year in and year out they have to be constantly prepared against the northern barbarians. The children learn to ride on horses and women learn to shoot with arrows. Once fighting erupts, they resist the invaders on horseback with defiance."(2) To what an extent they held the armed aggression from the Liaos and Hsihsias in contempt and displayed the patriotic spirit of resolutely resisting the enemy! Represented by Wang An-shih, the Legalists, who started from the political stand of the landlord class reformers, also firmly called for resisting the Liao and Hsihsia aggressors. Wang An-shih pointed out indignantly: The Sung royal court, "addressing the Ch'itans as uncles, pay to them every year a tribute amounting to hundreds of thousands of taels of silver and silk. This is what I consider a shame!"(3) For the Sung royal court to "address the Ch'itans as uncles"--this was an outcome of the humiliating capitulationist policy pursued by the big landlord class during the period of Emperor Chentsung of Sung. In 1004, under the leadership of K'ou Chun, the Sung army fought a war of resistance against the Liaos and won brilliant victories, but the capitulationists of the big landlords could not wait and signed the humiliating "Ch'anyüan Pact," which provided that the ruling group of Liao was to be presented with a large amount of money and goods each year and that the Sung royal court should address the empress dowager of Liao as aunty. Wang An-shih opposed such a shameful capitulationist line and resolutely called for resisting aggression and strengthening national defense.

Why did Wang An-shih want to introduce reform? His main objective was to try to change the situation in which the Sung dynasty "is becoming poorer and weaker." But "poor" and "weak" is only a phenomenon, and the root-cause behind it is the high-handed rule of the diehards of the big landlords of the Northern Sung at home and their appeasement and capitulation abroad. During the reign of Emperor Jentsung of Sung, scarcely had the threat from the Liao been removed than harassment came from Hsihsia. Yet the decadent clique of the big landlords, in order to prolong its life temporarily, "treated themselves as a small state serving a big country and did not dare to defy the latter"(4) in face of the aggressors. However, at home they ruthlessly "squeezed the people without reservation."(5) This sharpened the class contradictions and national crisis and confronted the Sung royal court with the grave situation in which "it has to worry about the society being destroyed at home and about invasions by the barbarians abroad."(6)

External and internal policies are interrelated. If one cannot in home affairs enforce a political line that stands fast for progress and opposes regression, that adheres to reform and opposes sticking to the old, it is virtually impossible to uphold the patriotic stand of opposing aggression. As a political representative of the middle and small landlords, Wang An-shih dared to criticize the Confucian ideology and objectively exposed the seamy side of the reactionary feudal ruling group and the decline of the feudal relations of production. He was a

renowned reformer. His reform was against the land annexation by big landlords at home and capitulation to the Liao and Hsihsia reactionary ruling groups abroad. Coming to grips with the two big subjects--"financial administration" and "military consolidation," he adopted a series of reform measures in a bid to attack the annexationist forces of the big landlords and increase tax revenues on the basis of developing social production and at the same time to reform the backward military system of the Sung dynasty and make good preparations for anti-aggressive wars. He pointed out: "Since ancient times states have perished because people sought peace on humiliating terms and accepted domination by foreign powers."(7) He resolutely called for abandoning the "policies of the ancestors" pursued by the capitulationists of the big landlords, while expressing the hope that reform would "turn the country from being weak to strong, free from all traditional conservative practices."(8) As a result of Wang An-shih's reform, the economic and military power of the Sung dynasty was markedly strengthened. His fiscal measures designed to curb annexations by the big landlords to a certain extent adjusted the ratio of the distribution of land rents within the landlord class, thereby increasing the financial revenues of the Sung dynasty. More than a decade later, according to records, in Hopei, which faced the Liao directly, "border defense works were built on a large scale and the granaries were filled."(9) "Sacks of grain were stored in the fortresses, amounting to tens of millions of shih."(10) The fighting power of the army was strengthened. The "Arms Office" produced large batches of weapons "sufficient for use over scores of years."(11) While such data might be exaggerated, it reflected the positive results of the reform which the diehards of the big landlords were unable to deny. And during the period of the reform, under Wang An-shih's direction, the Sung royal court appointed the Legalist Shen K'uo and the renowned generals Wang Shao and Tsung O to assume the responsibility for resisting against the armed aggression from Hsihsia, and they led the army to recover large tracts of land that were in the enemy's hands for a long time in the Hohuang region.

The patriotic line of reform laid down by Wang An-shih was guided by the Legalist ideology. Having summed up the function and experience of the Legalist line in anti-aggressive wars of the past and having highly appraised Shang Yang, Wu Ch'i and Sang Hung-yang, Wang An-shih openly called for the adoption of the Legalist policy of "farming and war." Once, in the presence of Emperor Shentsung of Sung, he praised Wu Ch'i's reform and asked the emperor to seriously study "Shang Yang's methods of promoting farming and war."(12) On the eve of the reform in Northern Sung, the total number of troops had increased from 200,000 in early Sung to more than 1,400,000, and the cost of maintaining this army accounted for fifth-sixths of the country's tax revenues. Yet it suffered repeated defeats in military struggles against the Liao and Hsihsia; it was completely devoid of fighting capability. Wang An-shih contended that such a mercenary military system was "one left over from the Five Dynasties which ultimately became disorderly and extinct, unable to bring peace and strength."(13) In the absence of reform, he argued, "China cannot hope to be rich and strong."(14) Therefore, on the basis of the spirit of Shang Yang's "law of grouping families into units," Wang An-shih called for encouraging "the people to learn to wage warfare"(15) in order to prepare the conditions for gradually replacing the mercenary system with a conscription system. While these military measures taken by Wang

An-shih had the aspect of strengthening the landlord class rule, they were at that time mainly designed to create an armed force powerful enough to resist aggression and to enable the people of the localities under attack to rise to defend themselves. This had a progressive meaning in those days.

Whether to call for resistance or advocate capitulation in face of the aggressors was a vital aspect of the Confucian-Legalist struggle in the time of Northern Sung. Almost all reactionary forces which practiced division and called for returning to the old order at home invariably called for appeasement and capitulation abroad. The big landlord reactionary group represented by Ssuma Kuang, in order to maintain its own decadent rule, engaged in worshipping Confucius and restoring the old order in a big way and did everything it could to oppose Wang An-shih's reform. It opposed the just struggle waged by the masses of the people against aggression and did not even hesitate to betray the country for its own glory. Not long after Wang An-shih's reform, the Liao reactionary ruling group, fearing that the success of the Northern Sung reform might "make China orderly and strong and harbor expansionist designs on Yuyen,"(16) attempted to "launch a preemptive attack against China" before Sung "become strong"(17) and sent out its troops to carry out armed intimidation. Faced with such an aggressive war, Wang An-shih resolutely called for resistance, contending: "The Ch'itan is a divided country, and how can it launch a full-scale attack against us?"(18) Seeing through the nature of the Ch'itan aristocratic group which was strong outwardly but feeble inwardly, he argued that if we "show weakness"(19) to them and concede to and appease them, we would only wet their aggressive appetite. Based on the availability of the manpower and material resources after the reform in the Sung dynasty, he was prepared to send out troops to recover Yuyen, a place that had been occupied by the Liao for a long time. On the other hand, the Confucians represented by Suuma Kuang, faced with the facts of the military invasion by the Liao, adopted a capitulationist and traitorous policy. Once, Emperor Shentsung of Sung asked Fan Ch'un-jen whether he would lead an expeditionary force. Turning pale, Fan replied hurriedly: "Your servant is a Confucian and has never learned the art of war."(20) When Fu Pi and others like him heard that the emperor was to lead an expeditionary force himself, they were "struck with panic."(21) Han Ch'i publicly stated: "If the Ch'itans have something to suspect, we should relieve their doubts by, for instance, dismissing some of our generals and civil officials whom they dislike."(22) They regarded as a thorn in their side Wang An-shih who resolutely called for resistance against the enemy, and all came out to launch a converging attack against him. Denying the necessity of resisting the enemy, they drivelled: "Those who assist the sovereign with the Tao do not rule the world with arms."(23) To this, Wang An-shih, giving tit for tat, answered: "A country that can make itself tough and strong need not be soft and weak."(24) Only by making the country strong and persisting in the anti-aggressive struggle would it not be bullied and humiliated.

By attacking Wang An-shih's patriotic line, the diehards of the big landlords revealed their stand of national betrayal. Always fearing the enemy as a tiger, Ssuma Kuang and the others like him were afraid that the success of the reform would incur the wrath of the Liao and Hsihsia aggressive groups. Making light of the armed plunder by the aggressors, they described it as "a small matter along the border, a matter that does

not deserve much attention"![25] Having no sense of shame, they described the annual tribute amounting to "a million taels of silver" paid by the Sung royal court to the aggressors as "something that gives rise to little insult for oneself but brings great benevolence to the beloved people."[26] They unabashedly yelled: "The ruler of the people loves the people and their property and will not discriminate against anyone. He wants to bring joy and happiness to the multitudes throughout the land."[27] Did this group of disciples of Confucius and Mencius including Ssuma Kuang have any sense of national integrity? They used the blood and sweat of the people to support the aggressors in exchange for temporary peace for the big landlord diehards, and that was called "love of the people," while the suffering of the people was described as "happiness." They wanted to "share the joy" with the aggressors and were so close to them that they were treated as "one of the kind." This was called "benevolence." This wonderful logic invented by the big landlord diehards headed by Ssuma Kuang to push a capitulationist line merely revealed vividly their own ugly features and showed that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius they adhered to were the theoretical basis for finding capitulation justified and patriotism guilty.

There is a profound class basis and social and historical causes for the traitorous line pushed by the reactionary group of the big landlords of the Northern Sung. On the eve of the reform introduced by Wang An-shih, a small handful of big landlords monopolized seventy percent of the land throughout the country, the class struggle was most acute, and peasant uprisings "increased and grew more violent year after year."[28] The big landlord diehards regarded the peasant uprisings as a grave threat to their survival and were determined to fight the people to the end. They were afraid that the anti-aggressive struggle would mobilize and organize the masses of the people to destroy their vested interests and shake their reactionary rule. Therefore, they were willing to fall to their knees before the aggressors and reluctant to carry out the anti-aggressive struggle. In their eyes, "harassment from the outside is merely a border problem and can be guarded against. But the existence of evil at home is a matter of grave concern."[29] They believed that if they knelt before the Liao and Hsihsia aggressors they might still preserve their skin but that if they were overthrown by the people they would be finished. This was why capitulation and national betrayal by the big landlord diehards were inevitable.

Criticizing the national betrayal of China's landlord and comprador-bourgeois classes, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Before them the problem of national extinction does not arise, for they have already removed the national boundary." From the past struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools over the question of capitulation and national betrayal or waging a patriotic war of resistance, we may still more deeply realize that only the vast revolutionary classes and revolutionary people and the groups and factions which call for progress and reform within the exploiting classes are capable of persisting in a war of resistance at a time when the national contradictions rise to the principal position, while the reactionaries who insist on regression and sticking to the old invariably capitulate or want to capitulate. The "literature of national defense" propagated by Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i, Ch'en Po-ta, Chou Yang and the like, was in fact literature of national

betrayal. Lin Piao's hostility to the great proletarian cultural revolution and the socialist system of proletarian dictatorship was linked to his national betrayal. The social existence of men determines their consciousness. On this question, we must likewise ahdere to the Marxist stand of class analysis.

II.

The struggle between patriotism and national betrayal had never ceased in Chinese feudal society, constituting as it did a vital aspect of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools. Wang An-shih's reform was a patriotic political movement, yet conservative scholars since the Northern Sung have vainly tried to describe it as the cause of the fall of the Northern Sung dynasty. On the eve of the fall of Northern Sung, Yang Shih, a conservative scholar, was the first to cry aloud: "The turmoil of today can be traced to Wang An-shih."(30) Later, some people, racking their brains, produced the play "The Perverse Prime Minister," saying: "The vitality of Sung was undermined by the Hsining reform, which gave rise to the Chingk'ang disaster."(31) But historical facts cannot be obliterated. In the early years of the Southern Sung dynasty, someone had refuted the conservative scholar Yang Shih, saying: "During the time government was run by Ching-kung [Wang An-shih], the country had never been so strong." "It is completely groundless to attribute defeat and disorder to Ching-kung."(32) The fall of the Northern Sung dynasty was definitely not caused by Wang An-shih's reform line; on the contrary, it was caused by Ssuma Kuang's Confucian line which overthrew and abolished the patriotic line of Wang An-shih's reform. After the death of Emperor Shentsung of Sung, the diehards headed by Ssuma Kuang came back to assume the reins of power with the support of Empress Dowager Kao who opposed the reform. Translating their traitorous theory into action, they abolished all measures of the reform, and as the aggressors were closing in, they kept on making concessions. During the period of Wang An-shih's reform, resounding victories were won by the Sung royal court in resisting the armed aggression of Hsihsia and large tracts of land were recovered. At this time, however, Ssuma Kuang sang the traitorous tune of "sustaining humiliation for the sake of the people,"(33) and called for abandoning the land which was recovered during the period of the reform. Led by Ssuma Kuang, the diehards uttered cry after cry for "abandoning territory," saying "there is no alternative to this course of action."(34) They claimed: "It is useless to keep them, and not a loss to lose them."(35) Wen Yen-po even went so far as to say unabashedly that if these areas were abandoned by ourselves early, then Hsihsia would "feel grateful, and peace will be assured in future years."(36) This band of diehards, who "preposterously describe abandoning territory as seeking peace with the enemy and attribute the taking up of arms to a policy of militarism,"(37) handed over to the reactionary regime of Hsihsia most of the land that had been recovered during the period of the reform, in particular, the four vital border military fortresses including Michih in northern Shensi. As a result, "the four seas were humiliated, the plan of appeasement worked, and the people in the border areas were victimized."(38) Seeds were sown for the rapid destruction of the Northern Sung dynasty. The capitulationist policy of the diehards suited the needs of the reactionary rule of Liao and Hsihsia. No wonder that when Ssuma Kuang resumed power, he was highly praised among the reactionary rulers in

Liao, who shouted aloud: "Ssuma is now the prime minister of China"![39]

The reactionary Confucians represented by Ssuma Kuang had direct responsibility for the destruction of the Northern Sung dynasty. On the eve of its fall, the rulers of Chin had arrived at the border with massive troops, yet the big landlord diehards were still keen on "talking about the correct doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and denouncing Wang An-shih's theories as improper."[40] They advocated worship of Confucius and opposition to the Legalist school and carried out a vengeful counter-attack. As a folk song at that time said, "The well-being of the country is no concerns of theirs, but Confucian learning is. They bother not about guarding against the autumn offensive (by the Chin troops) but about 'Ch'un-ch'iu' [the Spring and Autumn Annals]. They turn not against the enemy but against An-shih. They condemn not Hsiao Wang (title of Vice-marshal Han-li-pu of Chin who destroyed Sung) but Shu Wang (title conferred posthumously on Wang An-shih)."[41] This folk song vividly delineated the features of this small handful of diehards who worshipped Confucianism and opposed Legalism and who capitulated and sold out the country. They gave no thought to the possibility of national extinction but were only interested in worshipping Confucius and admiring Confucianism. They suppressed those who called for waging a war of resistance. How could the country be saved from extinction? Lu Hsün said rightly: "Scholars of the Sung dynasty talked about Taoism and the school of reason, venerated Confucius, and did nothing else. Although there were a few reformers such as Wang An-shih who had introduced new laws, they did not have the support and failed. Since then everybody again sang the old tunes that had nothing to do with society until the fall of the Sung dynasty." ("The Old Tunes Have Been Sung") This profoundly disclosed the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as the "old tunes" of national betrayal. Whoever sings such "old tunes" propagates the traitorous line. However, no matter how the reactionary conservative scholars of Southern Sung tried to reverse history, Wang An-shih was recorded in the annals as an outstanding patriot, and Ssuma Kuang and his band of diehards were forever nailed to the pillory of history as traitors. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao, singing the tune of the conservative scholars, cursed Wang An-shih as the "perverse prime minister," thereby fully revealing his attempt to be the "junior emperor" of the Soviet revisionists and turn China into a colony of social-imperialism.

Wang An-shih's reform clearly shows the inherent ties between the Legalist line and the patriotic traditions in Chinese history. As a progressive school advocating reform and opposing the Confucian attempt to restore the old order, the Legalist school was bound to ally itself with the anti-aggressive, patriotic cause. Chairman Mao points out: "The people of all nationalities in China have always opposed oppression by foreign nations, and they have always overcome this oppression with the means of resistance. They favor equal alliance, not mutual oppression." The national struggle, in the final analysis, is class struggle. In Chinese history, those that have stirred up national contradictions have always been the reactionary ruling classes of various nationalities. Oppression, whether it is oppression of the laboring people of the various minority nationalities by the feudal rulers of the Han nationality or harassment against the laboring

people of the Han nationality by the reactionary rulers of other nationalities, must be opposed without exception. Wang An-shih's political line of upholding reform and opposing foreign aggression benefited not only the people of the Sung dynasty but also the people suffering from oppression by the Liao and Hsihsia reactionary ruling groups. Therefore, it was a patriotic line. On the other hand, the reactionary Confucian scholars represented by Ssuma Kuang opposed any reform and persisted in restoring the old order and returning to the past. Even despite the fact that Wang An-shih's reform had not been able to shake the foundation of the feudal system or change the plight of the exploited and oppressed peasants or change the nature of the rule of the big landlord class, it was not tolerated by Ssuma Kuang, who looked upon it as a deluge or wild beast and had it suppressed. This was the inevitable result of their taking the road of national betrayal and following the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Worship of Confucius is sure to lead to national betrayal--this is a historical law. The reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, serving the declining classes, have been the theoretical basis for all reactionaries in Chinese history to practice counter-revolutionary rule at home and national betrayal abroad. As Lu Hsün pointed out: "Since there is no more important thing than to worship Confucius and admire Confucianism, one who worships Confucius and admires Confucianism finds it no harm to bow his head to any new ruler." ("A Reckoning, Fancy Literature")

Patriotism has different class content in different historical periods. The patriotism we talk about today is proletarian patriotism, and the patriotism Wang An-shih talked about was patriotism of the landlord class reformers and, as such, necessarily suffered from class and epochal constraints. On the other hand, however, we should not, because of this, deny the patriotic nature of Wang An-shih's reform. A multi-racial and united country, China has been gradually formed and consolidated in protracted national and class struggles. The unification of the country and the equal alliance between the various nationalities are an inevitable trend of historical development as well as the common desire of the people of all nationalities. In the prolonged feudal society, cases had occurred where one nation oppressed another between the Han people who engaged principally in agriculture in the Central Plain regions and the people of various national minorities who lived mainly a pastoral life in the north of our country, and there were national conflicts and wars between them. Such national wars should be concretely analyzed to distinguish the just from the unjust, the predatory from the anti-predatory, the oppressive from the anti-oppressive. When such national oppression had seriously hindered the development of the productive forces and obstructed social advance, to oppose such national oppression, "to use the means of resistance to overcome this oppression," was a patriotic, just action. In history, such patriotism formed in the midst of opposition to national oppression was the common spiritual wealth of the people of all nationalities in China, a wealth we should inherit and develop today.

The two-line struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools on the question of national oppression and plunder was decided by the interests of the classes and strata which they respectively represented. After Ch'in Shih Huang unified the six states on the central plains, the

contradictions with the slave-owning nobles of the Huns in the north of China became accentuated. Ch'in Shih Huang sent Meng T'ien to lead 300,000 troops to rout the Huns and recover the region south of Hot'ao. He set up the Chiuyüan prefecture where people were settled to engage in farming along the border. On the other hand, those reactionary Confucian scholars yelled: "Those who destroy Ch'in are the barbarians,"(42) dreaming of relying on the Hun aggressors to overthrow the Ch'in dynasty and to restore the slave system. At that time, a group of slave-owning aristocrats escaping from the landlord class dictatorship defected to the Huns. Up to the time of Emperor Wu of Han, their descendants still called themselves "people of Ch'in" and assisted the Hun aggressors in fighting the Han dynasty.(43)

In the early Han dynasty, the military regime of the Huns under the slave system, with a force of several hundred thousand cavalrymen, was enslaving and oppressing dozens of small states at that time. According to records, "the Huns, becoming ever more arrogant, often intrude into the border areas, killing a large number of people and animals."(44) The frequent surprise attacks and armed plunder launched by the slave-owning nobles of the Huns against the Han dynasty caused untold hardships to the people, constituting a grave threat to the survival of the Western Han dynasty. Under these circumstances, whether to oppose aggression or to submit to it became an acute issue in the Confucian-Legalist struggle in early Han. Within the Han court, those princes, including those who shared the name of the imperial family, who engaged in creating division and undermining the unification of the country, all "exhausted their means to collaborate with the Huns."(45) For instance, before staging his revolt, the Prince of Han, Hsin, "consulted the Huns for a joint attack on Han."(46) The Prince of Yen, Lu Wan, after his revolt aborted, "fled to the Huns with his men."(47) The disturbances created by the seven states, including Wu and Ch'u, were likewise closely related to the aggressive forces of the Huns. The Prince of Wu, Pi, in his letter to the various feudal princes, openly declared: "The Prince of Yen and the Prince of Chao have reached agreement with the King of the Huns, under which the Prince of Yen is to take T'ai and Yünchung in the north and then lead the Huns into Hsiao-kuan and then Changan, when the whole empire will be in our hands. May I have your support."(48) This disclosed their criminal plan to collaborate with the Hun aggressors to overthrow the feudal central authority of the Han dynasty. On the other hand, the slave-owning nobles of the Huns were eager to try it out, and were prepared to "enter the border with Chao."(49) This conspiracy failed only because the revolt was speedily suppressed. Contrary to these men, the Legalists were patriots who were in favor of resisting the incursions by the slave-owning nobles of the Huns. On the basis of the Legalist idea of "farming and war," Ch'ao Ts'o proposed concrete measures for resisting the Huns. On the basis of the experience of protracted struggle against the slave-owning nobles of the Huns, Sang Hung-yang pointed out: "If no preparations were made against aggression, it would be impossible to cope with the surprise attacks of the aggressors."(50) He was of the view that Ch'in Shih Huang was able to defeat the Huns because he "made good preparations in accordance with the stratagem left by Lord Shang."(51) But the reactionary Confucian scholars openly called for

"demolishing the defense installations and letting benevolence and righteousness be the guide."(52) They vainly attempted to open the door for the slave-owning nobles of the Huns and to destroy the great wall by themselves. A mass of facts show that all reactionaries who practiced division and secession invariably collaborated with the external aggressive forces, and that once their conspiracies went bankrupt, they necessarily would take the road of betraying the country and surrendering to the enemy.

The history since Han similarly proves the traitorous nature of the Confucians. During the period of the Five Dynasties and Ten States, Shih Ching-t'ang of Later Tsin, in exchange for the position of a "junior emperor," was willing to "offer all the wealth of China to a big country"(53) and sold 16 districts including Yuyün to the Ch'itan aggressors. This 45-year-old traitor unabashedly addressed the 34-year-old "ruler of Ch'itan as 'father emperor'."(54) In the Sung dynasty, the big landlord diehards headed by Ssuma Kuang not only inherited the mantle of the past traitors, but also developed the traitorous theories of the Confucian school. When the conservative scholars of Southern Sung inherited the traitorous mantle of the conservative scholars of Northern Sung, the spy and traitor Ch'in K'uai, assuming the role of an orthodox Confucianist, attacked those who called for opposing aggression for "failing to know the Confucian art of government."(55) Shamelessly he yelled: "To endure insult in seeking peace is to show loyalty to the ruler."(56) The conservative scholar Chu Hsi was even more tricky. Although occasionally he shouted the slogan "Resist the Chin," in fact he vigorously attacked Wang An-shih's patriotic line and all those who truly called for waging a war of resistance, thereby revealing his features as a traitor who feigned resistance but actually desired surrender. As Ch'en Liang disclosed at that time, Chu Hsi and the other conservative scholars "think they are sincere scholars with a sense of justice, but actually they are people who know nothing about national welfare. Instead of resisting the enemies, they bow their heads and fold their arms and talk to them about saving their lives."(57) In modern times, Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung-chang, Yüan Shih-k'ai, Wang Ching-wei, Chiang Kai-shek and the like also donned the Confucian robes and staged one traitorous farce after another. And it was by no means accidental that the renegade and traitor Lin Piao should have vainly attempted to defect to the Soviet revisionists, for he represented the interests of an overthrown reactionary class and was an out-and-out Confucius worshipper. As such, he had no choice but to embark on the road of national betrayal.

Chairman Mao points out: "In its history of several thousand years, the Chinese nation has produced a lot of national heroes and revolutionary leaders. Therefore, the Chinese nation is also a nation with glorious revolutionary traditions and a fine historical heritage." In Chinese history, there have appeared a great number of patriotic national heroes of Han and other minority nationalities. No matter which nationality they came from--whether it is the Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui, Tibetan, Chuang, Uighur or other minorities, all of them are national heroes who belong to the people of all nationalities in China. The people of various nationalities in China have been toiling and living on the Chinese soil for generations. In the course of prolonged class and national struggles they have gradually formed this great mother country with a long history, vast material resources

and a large population. In ancient and modern times, in China and elsewhere, reactionaries in order to suppress the revolutionary struggles and all progressive reforms of the Chinese people have invariably tried by a thousand and one means to sabotage the unification and independence of our country and to distort and slander the progressive, anti-aggressive and patriotic traditions in Chinese history. Therefore, a study of the two-line struggle between patriotism and national betrayal in the course of Wang An-shih's reform may help us deepen our understanding of the Confucian-Legalist struggle in history, scathingly criticize the traitorous nature of the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and carry the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end.

NOTES:

(1) Li Pi, "People of Hopei," "Notes on Poems and Letters of Lord Wang Ching-wen," Vol. 21.

(2) Poem "The Border Inhabitants," "Collected Writings of Ouyang Yung-shu," Vol. 5.

(3) Li T'ao, "Sequel to Tzu Chih T'ung Chien," Vol. 237.

(4) Ts'ai Shang-hsiang, "Brief Study of the Annals of Wang Ching-kung," Vol. 18.

(5) Chao I, "Official Stipends in Sung," "Notes on the Twenty-Four Books of History," Vol. 25.

(6) "Memorial to Emperor Jentsung," "Collected Writings of Mr. Lin Ch'uan," Vol. 39.

(7) Poem "On Yennu with Ch'ang Shu," "Collected Writings of Mr. Lin Ch'uan," Vol. 1.

(8) "Brief Study of the Annals of Wang Ching-kung," Vol. 6.

(9) Hua Yüan, "More to Tzu Chih T'ung Chien," Vol. 77.

(10) Lu Tien, "On the Deeds of Emperor Shentsung," "Collected Writings of T'ao Shan," Vol. 11.

(11) Lü T'ao, "Petition for the Abolition of Arms," "Collected Writings of Ching Te," Vol. 4.

(12) Quoted from Ch'en Kuan, "On Taoism," "Collected Writings on Ssu Ming Tsun Yao," Vol. 3.

(13) (16) (17) "Sequel to Tzu Chih T'ung Chien," Vol. 238.

(14) (23) (24) "Pao Chia, Treatise on Military Affairs, History of Sung."

(15) Simplified Version of "Brief Study of the Annals of Wang Ching-kung," Vol. 2.

(18) (19) (21) (22) "Sequel to Tzu Chih T'ung Chien," Vol. 262.

(20) "More to Tzu Chih T'ung Chien," Vol. 70.

(25) (26) "Notes on the North Border," "Collected Writings of Ssuma Kuang," Vol. 33.

(27) "Visit to the North," "Collected Writings of Ssuma Kuang," Vol. 7.

(28) "More on Defense Against the Invaders," Collection of Memorials Vol. 4, "Collected Writings of Ouyang Yung-shu".

(29) "Biography of Sung Shou, History of Sung".

(30) "Biography of Yang Shih, History of Sung".

(31) "The Perverse Prime Minister, Collection of Plays in Sung and Yüan".

(32) Quoted from "Brief Study of the Annals of Wang Ching-kung," Vol. 24.

(33) "On the Request of the People of the West for Land," "Collected Writings of Ssuma Kuang," Vol. 53.

(34) "Biography of Fan Ch'un-tsui, History of Sung".

(35) "Sequel to Tzu Chih T'ung Chien," Vol. 393.

(36) Wen Yen-po, "On the Western Frontier," "Collected Writings of Wen Lu-kung," Vol. 26.

(37) (38) Quoted from Miscellaneous Records, Vol. 1, "Brief Study of the Annals of Wang Ching-kung."

(39) "More to Tzu Chih T'ung Chien," Vol. 80.

(40) "Chronicles of Ch'intsung, History of Sung."

(41) Li Kung, "A Critical Review of History," Vol. 3.

(42) "Ch'in Shih Huang, Historical Records".

(43) "The Huns, History of Han."

(44) (49) "The Hun, Historical Records".

(45) (46) (47) "Han Hsin and Lu Wan, Historical Records".

(48) "Ching Yen-wu, History of Han".

(50) (52) "On World Affairs, On Salt and Iron".

(51) "On Refutation of Shang Yang, on Salt and Iron".

(53) "Tzu Chih T'ung Chien," Vol. 280.

(54) "Tzu Chih T'ung Chien," Vol. 281.

(55) Yeh Ch'ang-chih, "Yü Shih," Vol. 8.

(56) "Biography of Ch'in K'uai, History of Sung".

(57) "Biography of Ch'en Liang, History of Sung".

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Strategically Despise the Enemy, But Tactically Take Him Seriously

by

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How to recognize from their very essence revolutionary and reactionary forces and establish correct strategic and tactical concepts is a problem a political party of the proletariat must solve in leading revolutionary struggle.

Linking Marxist theory with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the great leader Chairman Mao has generalized a very important principle from protracted struggles against the enemy, that is, strategically despise him but tactically take him seriously. When dealing with the well-known thesis that all reactionaries are paper tigers in 1957, Chairman Mao incisively elucidated this idea: "Over a long period we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that we must despise the enemy with respect to the whole, but that we must take him seriously with respect to each and every concrete question. If we do not despise the enemy with respect to the whole, we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism unless we take them seriously." For the past decades, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and acting on this great strategic and tactical concept, the Chinese people have shown the courage to struggle and to win with respect to the whole, and they have also been good at waging struggle and attended to the art of struggle on each specific question. It is for this reason that they have been able to defeat the powerful enemies at home and abroad, win the victory in the democratic revolution, and proceeded to launch deep-going socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts to transform the old economic base and superstructure, thereby turning the dark, semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China into a bright socialist new China.

Correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle. This Marxist strategic and tactical concept of strategically despising the enemy but tactically taking him seriously has also emerged and developed in the course of struggle against opportunism of all shapes and colors.

Opportunists inside the Party are servants of the bourgeoisie, cowed by the temporarily powerful appearance of the class enemy. Strategically they always exaggerate the enemy's strength, under-estimate the strength of the people, and dare not struggle or win, even going so far as to hand over to the enemy the fruits of victory that have been gained. As Lenin pointed out: "The opportunists are so afraid of victory that they frighten

the proletariat into not daring to win victory. They predict that victory will cause all sorts of misfortunes and laugh at slogans of direct appeal for victory." Tactically, they often fail to take the enemy seriously, and adopt a reckless attitude, thereby causing the revolution to sustain loss. This is as true of the opportunist chieftains of the Second International and the modern revisionists as it is of the opportunist ringleaders within our Party. At crucial moments of the Chinese revolution, the renegade and traitor Lin Piao had more than once divulged his ugly features as a Right opportunist.

At the beginning of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the Chinese revolution was at a temporary low tide. Lin Piao, taking the bourgeois stand and proceeding from the idealist reactionary world outlook, was pessimistic and despondent about the prospects of the revolution, under-estimating the subjective strength of the revolution and over-estimating the counter-revolutionary forces. He did not believe that a revolutionary high tide might arrive quickly, and doubted "how long the red flag will be flying." In view of Lin Piao's error, Chairman Mao wrote a letter "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," sternly criticizing his Right opportunist view. In the letter, Chairman Mao made an all-round examination of the development of various contradictions giving rise to the revolutionary high tide, scientifically analyzed the current situation and the balance of strength between the enemy and ourselves, and pointed out that the domestic situation was essentially one in which the counter-revolutionary tide had begun to ebb and the revolutionary tide to rise again, and that the revolutionary high tide might arrive quickly. Moreover, he graphically described the situation thus: It is like a ship far out at sea whose mast-head can already be seen from the shore; it is like the morning sun in the east whose shimmering rays are visible from a high mountain top; it is like a child about to be born moving restlessly in its mother's womb. Chairman Mao's correct appraisal of the revolutionary situation tremendously inspired the revolutionary fighting spirit of the vast numbers of Party members and the broad masses of people.

During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, in view of the clamorous "theory of national subjugation" and "theory of quick victory," Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the eyes of the subjugationists the enemies are supermen and we Chinese are worthless, while in the eyes of the theorists of quick victory we Chinese are supermen and the enemies are worthless. Both are wrong." On the basis of an all-round analysis of the balance of strength between the enemy and ourselves, Chairman Mao pointed out that the War of Resistance was a "protracted war" and that final victory would belong to China and not Japan. Furthermore, he laid down the correct line of boldly arousing the masses and expanding the people's forces to defeat the aggressors and build a new China under our Party's leadership. But, echoing Wang Ming, Lin Piao stubbornly stuck to the Right opportunist stand, opposed Chairman Mao's correct line and operational policies, and did not believe that the Chinese people, led by our Party, could trounce the Japanese aggressors. Instead, he pinned his hopes on the Kuomintang reactionaries, openly advocating class capitulation and shamelessly exalting Chiang Kai-shek to the skies.

During the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Lin Piao's features as a Right opportunist were exposed more glaringly. Scarcely had the War of Resistance Against Japan been won than Chairman Mao pointed out sagaciously: "The new situation and task is domestic struggle. Chiang Kai-shek talks about 'building the country.' From now on the struggle will be, build what sort of country?" At that time, China faced two possible destinies and two kinds of future: In one case, to unite the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party to build a new democratic country of the masses of people led by the proletariat; in the other, to allow Chiang Kai-shek to seize the fruit of victory, launch a civil war, stamp out the Chinese revolution, and set up a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes. At this crucial moment of a decisive battle between the two possible destinies, Chairman Mao, with the great mettle of a proletarian revolutionary, called upon the whole Party and the people of the whole country to defy the superficially powerful Kuomintang reactionaries backed by US imperialism and adopt the policy of giving tit for tat and fighting for every inch of land to cope with Chiang Kai-shek's policy of "wresting every ounce of power and every ounce of gain." Incisively analyzing the internal and external situations at that time, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Chiang Kai-shek's superiority in military forces is only transient, a factor which can play only a temporary role. Aid from US imperialism likewise is a factor whose role can only be a temporary one. But the anti-popular character of Chiang Kai-shek's war and lack of popular support are factors that play a constant role, and in this respect the People's Liberation Army is in a superior position." Therefore, "we must and can defeat Chiang Kai-shek." He also warned the whole Party, saying: "We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that over-estimate the strength of the enemy and under-estimate the strength of the people are wrong." But, Lin Piao, closely following the capitulationist line of "a new stage of peace and democracy" put forward by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, dared not oppose a counter-revolutionary war with a revolutionary war, nor did he dare to fight unprecedentedly large-scale battles of annihilation. Instead, he declared "willingness to cooperate with the Kuomintang in the Northeast." When Chairman Mao resolutely decided to unfold strategically decisive engagements with the Kuomintang army in the Northeast and set in motion the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign, Lin Piao again jumped out and vigorously opposed and sabotaged Chairman Mao's great strategic decisions. Promptly giving tit for tat, Chairman Mao criticized Lin Piao's Right opportunist line. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and armed with the concept of strategically despising the enemy but tactically taking him seriously, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country quickly won the victories in the war to liberate the Northeast and in the nationwide War of Liberation.

The divergence of opinion between Marxists and opportunists on the question of strategy reflects the struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois world outlooks. The proletarian concept of strategically despising the enemy is founded on the scientific world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism, extracted from the correct knowledge of the objective laws of historical development. Chairman Mao says: "Communists of the world are wiser than the bourgeoisie. They understand the laws of existence and development of things. They understand dialectics. They can see farther

into the distance." The dialectics of the proletarian revolutionary theories and the dialectics of the proletarian strategic and tactical concepts correctly reflect the laws inherent in the objective world.

Chairman Mao says: "The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." Things which are weak superficially are things which are growing up, and they will certainly defeat those things which are superficially strong but have already become decadent. The history of human society as a whole develops in accordance with this law. All revolutionary forces representing the advanced relations of production invariably triumph over the reactionary forces representing the backward relations of production. As Chairman Mao points out: "In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterward, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites--the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat--grew in strength step by step, struggled against them more and more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people." Hence, it was a historical necessity that the newly emerging landlord class replaced the declining slave-owning class, the newly emerging bourgeoisie the declining feudal landlord class, and the proletariat the corrupt and declining bourgeoisie. The proletariat, entrusted with the historical mission of burying the system of exploition, will certainly defeat the bourgeoisie and replace the decadent capitalist system with an advanced socialist system, no matter how difficult and tortuous the course of its advance and no matter how high the price. The reason all exploiting classes will necessarily turn into reactionaries and paper tigers and eventually be overthrown is that they are divorced from and opposed to the people and their class interests are contradictory to those of the people. Chairman Mao has often urged us to grasp the essence and not to be confused by the temporary superficial appearance when observing a problem. On the surface, reactionaries sometimes appear to be quite "powerful" and frightening; actually, they are not so powerful, and in the long run, the truly strong power belongs to the revolutionary people. Through dogged and protracted struggle, the people will definitely defeat all reactionaries at home and abroad. The people are the motive force in the making of history. Chairman Mao's concept of strategically despising the enemy is founded on historical materialism, a full belief that the people have tremendous creative force. It boosts the morale of the people and demoralizes the enemy, enabling the revolutionary people to conquer all class enemies with confidence and determination.

When we say that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that we must despise them strategically and with respect to the whole, it does not mean that we may not take them seriously tactically on each and every question of concrete struggle (be it military, political, economic or ideological struggle). This is because strategically despising the enemy and tactically taking him seriously is a unity of opposites. Even if it has the concept of despising the enemy strategically and daring to struggle, the proletariat will not win the victory in revolution unless it tactically takes the enemy seriously and is good at waging struggle. Chairman Mao says:

"Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature--they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time." When we say reactionaries are real tigers, it is because they still have temporary strength and are armed to the teeth. To maintain the interests of the reactionary classes, they will wage a death-bed struggle, devouring people by the millions. For this reason, in a life-and-death struggle against them, the revolutionary people must adopt a prudent attitude and attend to the art of struggle tactically, strategically, with respect to every part and on each concrete problem, and must adopt appropriate forms of struggle according to different times, locations, and conditions so as to isolate and wipe out the enemies step by step and turn the possibility of winning the revolution into reality. If we do not do this and if we adopt an adventurist and reckless attitude tactically, we will certainly commit blunders and endanger the revolution. Likewise, if we do not conscientiously handle the new problems cropping up continuously in the course of socialist revolution and construction nor solve them by adopting corresponding principles, policies, tactics and measures according to objective reality and on the basis of study and investigations, we will not achieve the expected results of struggle. The ten major principles of operations set by Chairman Mao for our army during the War of Liberation exemplify the close integration between despising the enemy strategically and tactically taking him seriously in military affairs. On the one hand, Chairman Mao, having profoundly analyzed the prevailing political and military situation, clearly told the whole Party and the whole army that we had to defeat Chiang Kai-shek and certainly could do so. The ten major principles in military affairs are permeated with the proletarian concept of daring to struggle and to win. On the other hand, Chairman Mao also pointed out that Chiang Kai-shek still possessed certain military strength and to wipe him out completely, we must adopt a prudent attitude and carry out the correct strategic policy of concentrating superior forces to annihilate the enemy's effective strength as the chief objective. These ten major principles are also permeated with the concept of fighting every battle with full preparations and with the assurance of victory by a comparative study of the conditions of the enemy and our own.

All opportunists within our Party are idealists. Proceeding from the reactionary stand of maintaining bourgeois interests, they, as a rule, stubbornly oppose the law of historical development. They, in effect, think that the capitalist system is eternal and the bourgeoisie unconquerable. Thus, on strategic questions, they always exaggerate the enemy's strength while failing to see the people's strength. It is the case with Lin Piao. These are the class and ideological causes for his consistently deviating to the Right, fearing the enemy as if he were a tiger and eventually degenerating into a renegade and traitor.

The Party's basic line tells us: During the historical period of socialism, there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration, and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social imperialism. In order to win a complete victory in the anti-restoration struggle, we must also strategically despise the enemy and tactically take him seriously. That the

socialist system will defeat the capitalist system is an invariable trend of historical development, a trend that no force can stop. We must not be afraid of the subversive and aggressive activities of imperialism and social-imperialism, of the sabotage and disturbances created by class enemies at home, and of the emergence of revisionism in our Party. They are all decadent forces. Their sabotage and disturbances are dictated by their reactionary class nature, they show that they are not powerful but weak and that eventually they will lift a rock only to drop it on their feet. We are convinced that our future is bright. Of course, we must correctly assess, and maintain a high vigilance against, any possible twists and reversals during the historical period of socialism, and establish the idea of long-term struggle. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we must conscientiously carry out the Party's policies, attend to the tactics of struggle, and penetratingly, meticulously and realistically solve all problems encountered on the road of progress. The socialist cause we are now undertaking is something never attempted before, and it is inevitable that we will face some difficulties. But, our difficulties can be surmounted because we are a newly emerging force having a bright future. Strategically we must despise the difficulties and must not be cowed by them; tactically, we must also take them seriously and overcome them one by one. This means that we must not only look far into the future but also tread on solid ground, that we must have not only a dauntless revolutionary spirit but also a strict scientific attitude. Only in this way can we follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, implement the policies of "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony" and "grasp revolution, promote production and other work and promote preparations against war," and continue to push socialist revolution and socialist construction forward.

The current world situation is excellent. Countries want independence, nations want emancipation, and people want revolution--this has become an irresistible trend of history. With a view to helping the world's people increase their confidence and determination to fight against imperialism and social-imperialism and accelerating the development of proletarian revolution and the cause of national liberation, Chairman Mao has many times explained the concept of despising the enemy strategically. He points out: "A weak nation can defeat a strong one, and a small nation can defeat a big one. The people of a small state assuredly can defeat the aggression of a big one if they dare to rise up in struggle, take up arms and take the destiny of their state into their hands." At the same time, he also points out: In the course of struggle against imperialism, we must also adopt a correct line, attend to the tactics of struggle, and unite with all patriotic, anti-imperialist forces which can be united with. Provided that they combine properly these two aspects--strategically despising the enemy and tactically taking him seriously--and persevere in struggle, revolutionary people all over the world will definitely trounce imperialism and social-imperialism.

While broadening and deepening the criticizing-Lin-and-Confucius movement in a sustained manner and during the struggle to criticize Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, we should conscientiously study Chairman Mao's brilliant concept of strategically despising the enemy but tactically taking

him seriously, and take it as an ideological weapon for criticizing Lin Piao's Right opportunist line and as a fundamental strategic and tactical concept for carrying out class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment as well as for struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism. In this way, still greater victories can be won.

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"San Tzu Ching" Serves the Reactionary Ruling Classes

- Dissecting two enlarged editions of "San Tzu Ching"

by

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"San Tzu Ching" [Three-Character Classics] was reputedly compiled by Wang Ying-lin, a Confucian scholar of Southern Sung dynasty, at a time when it was continually battered by peasant uprisings and faced with a grave national crisis and a precarious situation. To maintain its tottering reactionary rule, the increasingly corrupt feudal ruling class violently and savagely suppressed the revolutionary people. On the other hand, it promoted the "teaching of Taoism and the school of reason and worship of Confucius" in a vain attempt to throttle the revolutionary ideas of the people with the hypocritical Confucian sermons. The publication of "San Tzu Ching" thus suited such reactionary political needs of the Southern Sung rulers.

As "San Tzu Ching" was full of the toxic juice of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, reactionary rulers over the ages since Southern Sung had all made it a "primary" reader to give "enlightenment," enlarging and revising it again and again to make it render more direct service to their reactionary rule. These enlarged and revised editions of "San Tzu Ching," while revealing their sinister motives, also clearly showed the reactionary function of this booklet.

Judging by available historical data, the followers of Confucius and Mencius since Southern Sung focused mainly on the historical narration of various periods in enlarging and revising "San Tzu Ching." During the reign of Taokuang of the Ch'ing dynasty, in "Brief Notes on Annotations of San Tzu Ching" written by the Confucian scholar Ho Hsing-szu, historical narrations, totalling 24 sentences, concerning the three dynasties of Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing were added. The narrator described the fall of the Ming dynasty as "destruction by the will of God" and sang a great dirge for it. On the other hand, he slandered the vehement peasant uprisings in the last years of Ming as "bandits roaming the land" and gave vent to his deep-seated hatred against the peasant revolutionary movement. In his explanatory notes, he even more brazenly attacked Li Tzu-ch'eng as "bandit Li," and made up a story saying that before the last emperor, Chu Yu-chien, of Ming was hanged in a coal mine, he left for Li Tzu-ch'eng a "poem written with his blood," asking him "not to do any harm to the common people." This presented the chieftains of the landlord class as "lovers of the people" and shamelessly embellished the feudal rule which was corrupt to its core.

By the Ch'ing dynasty, Chinese feudal society was approaching the end of its long history. In particular, crises loomed large after the so-called "K'ang-ch'ien heyday." With the contradictions between the peasants and the landlord class intensified with each passing day, peasant

uprisings rose wave after wave almost without interruption. The struggle between the newly emerging citizen strata and the reactionary and declining landlord class also developed every day. In the periods of Chiach'ing and Taokuang in which the compiler of the enlarged edition of "San Tzu Ching" lived, the feudal rule was on the verge of collapse. To prop up its reactionary rule, the Ch'ing court had no choice but to use the fantastic "theory of Heavenly will" to explain the "rationality" of its reactionary rule, and spread energetically such lies as that the ancestors of the Ch'ing rulers were born of the "daughter of Heaven" with the mission of "stamping out national disorder." Emperor Shihtsung of Ch'ing, Yinchen, declared time and again that the rule of the Ch'ing dynasty was "preordained and irresistible." The compiler of the Ch'ing edition of "San Tzu Ching," acting on this order of the reactionary rulers, wrote in "San Tzu Ching" that "the first emperor of Ch'ing, entrusted with the mandate of Heaven, put down disorder within the four seas and restored peace everywhere," thus forging history and presenting a facade of peace. He praised the so-called "civil rule" and "military exploits" of the Ch'ing dynasty and vainly attempted to make the masses of people believe that the Ch'ing rulers "acted on the mandate of Heaven" and submit to the latter's reactionary rule. Such was the sinister purpose of revising and enlarging "San Tzu Ching."

In the edition of "San Tzu Ching" published by the Hungtashan Bookstore of Shanghai in 1925, historical narrations concerning the Ch'ing dynasty and the so-called "Republic" period were revised and added. Totalling 32 sentences, these additions were far more reactionary than the Ch'ing edition both politically and ideologically. On the one hand, this edition presented such feudal rulers as Yungcheng, Ch'ienlung and Chiach'ing of the Ch'ing dynasty as "men who made the people rich and live in peace and had done great exploits." On the other hand, it slandered the great T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolutionary movement as "bringing disaster to the people against the will of Heaven after the Kwangtung bandits." As for the bloody military aggression and economic plunder perpetrated by the imperialists since the Opium War, the edition, with an ulterior motive, described them as "opening the sea ports and exchange of goods." Finally, it said treacherously: "May our compatriots not go to war." These additions were also closely related to the political struggle at that time.

As we know, in 1925, which was part of the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, a nationwide revolutionary tempest symbolized by the "May 30" movement and the massive strikes in Canton and Hong Kong, was violently pounding at the reactionary rule. Members of the landlord-comprador classes and representatives of the right wing of the Kuomintang like Chiang Kai-shek, worming their way into the revolutionary camp, resorted to counter-revolutionary dual tactics in a big way. Disguising themselves as revolutionaries but secretly collaborating with the imperialists, they were waiting for an opportunity to launch an attack on the revolutionary people. In the denunciations heaped on the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolution in that enlarged edition resided the extreme hatred and fear of Chiang Kai-shek and his like for the revolutionary movements of the workers and peasants led by the Chinese Communist Party at that time.

While vigorously embellishing the imperialist aggression, the enlarged edition also created public opinion for Chiang Kai-shek to surrender to imperialism. At that time, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, with a view to disarming the people ideologically, spread everywhere such fallacies as that "To support the interests of the worker and peasant masses, it is not necessary to adopt the form of class struggle." "May our compatriots not go to war" actually meant to put up a smokescreen behind which Chiang Kai-shek could secretly sharpen his knife waiting for the opportunity to stage a counter-revolutionary coup in a vain attempt to slaughter the revolutionary people while they were unprepared. In the year preceding the publication of this enlarged edition, there appeared a booklet called "Meng Yang Shih I" [Explanation of the Principle of Enlightenment] which purportedly provided explanatory notes to "San Tzu Ching." It called "San Tzu Ching" a "good book" which "supplements the deficiency of the political indoctrination of the state." And it added: "This good book alone can arrest the decline of social ethics." This clearly stated the political purpose of the Kuomintang rightists in enlarging "San Tzu Ching." Even down to this day, the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which is only prolonging its life temporarily, still uses "San Tzu Ching" as an instrument for intensifying its reactionary ideological control and propagates and praises it. It malignantly curses the revolutionary criticism of "San Tzu Ching" and does its utmost to defend the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in a futile attempt to save itself from inevitable doom. Thus we can see how this booklet, consisting of some one thousand characters, has sharply reflected the storm of class struggle and expressed the wishes and demands of the reactionary ruling classes. Facts have fully shown that "San Tzu Ching" is compiled for and used by the reactionary ruling classes.

Bourgeois representatives within the Party have also done their best to make use of the reactionary function of "San Tzu Ching." After the liberation, Liu Shao-ch'i and company, in coordination with their counter-revolutionary restoration activities, gave "San Tzu Ching" a new face lift and published it again. Lin Piao, the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor, even more directly acting on the reactionary thesis in "San Tzu Ching" that "I teach my son only these classics," openly called for "teaching my son to read classics" and asked his son to accept the restoration and regressive doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in a futile bid to establish a Lin family dynasty of feudal comprador fascist dictatorship. However, all regressive acts inevitably produce results contrary to the expectations of their protagonists. The painstaking efforts they made for "San Tzu Ching" can only create illusions for them and leave the revolutionary people with a negative textbook.

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A Critique of "Ruling the World with Half of 'Confucian Analects'"

by

Pien Shih-chung (卞石中)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

Since the Southern Sung dynasty a reactionary and preposterous theory, the so-called theory that "one can rule the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'," had prevailed widely in Chinese society. Over the ages reactionaries had regarded it as a magic wand for governing the country and lauded it vigorously. Opportunists who wormed their way into the Party also looked upon it as a canon and talked about it volubly. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i's partners had taken "half of the 'Confucian Analects'" as a topic of their "evening chats" and used it to disrupt the mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism. Influenced by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius trumpeted by Lin Piao, some people even copied "one can rule the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'" in their notebooks as a daily reminder.

Has it ever happened in history that "one can rule the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'"?

A check shows that this remark originated from a chapter of "Precious Dew in the Forest of Cranes" (鶴林玉露) written by Lo Ta-ching of Southern Sung. In the early years of the Sung dynasty Chao P'u had been prime minister of two emperors, but he did not read much. At that time, some people laughed at him, saying he "read nothing but the 'Confucian Analects'." When these words came to the ears of Emperor T'aitsung of Sung, he asked Chao P'u what they meant. Chao replied: "Your Majesty, it is indeed true that I have read not more than the 'Confucian Analects.' In the past I used half of it to assist Your Majesty in subduing the world. Now I want to use half of it to assist you in making the world peaceful." In fact, Lo Ta-ching himself knew that what Chao P'u said did not tally with facts and could not but admit: "As prime minister, Chao P'u did much that departed from the 'Confucian Analects'." However, since he took the Confucian stand, and in order to eulogize "Confucian Analects," he had to describe what Chao P'u said as "a truth applicable to the world." The events in "Precious Dew in the Forest of Cranes" were "based on gossip and hearsay and cannot be verified," and were therefore not credible. However, Confucian scholars of later generations, finding this episode palatable, passed it down by word of mouth or in writing and created the theory that "one can rule the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'," thereby praising the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to the skies.

As a matter of fact, Chao P'u did not use the "Confucian Analects" to assist Chao K'uang-yin and his brother in subduing the world. In the several decades after the T'ang dynasty, China was a divided country, split between five dynasties and ten states. There was chaotic fighting among warlords, tribes attacked each other, the people were brutally slaughtered, and the productive forces were undermined. The desire of the masses of people for the unification of the country and restoration of peace reflected the

trend of historical development. Under these circumstances, Chao K'uang-yin took over the later Chou dynasty and, with Chao P'u's assistance, conducted a war of unification for more than a decade. In order to consolidate power, Chao P'u drew on the past historical lesson that "the vassal states had too much power and while the sovereign was weak his ministers were strong," and proposed to Chao K'uang-yin a number of measures designed to strengthen centralization of power and to remove threats from vassal secessions. These measures were contrary to Confucius' line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and teachings on loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, and righteousness. It can be seen that the story that Chao P'u had said "one can rule the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'" was completely groundless and was a fake story used by the Confucian scholars of Southern Sung to deceive others.

There is, however, a historical reason why the fallacy "one can rule the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'" originated in Southern Sung and was attributed to Chao P'u. The feudal landlord class was heading toward decline after the Sung dynasty. Even Chao K'uang-yin, Chao P'u and other men of relatively outstanding abilities did not dare to openly hoist the anti-Confucian banner; instead, while carrying out certain reform measures, they hung up the Confucian signboard as a cover. In the first month after Chao K'uang-yin ascended the throne, he "ordered the repair of Confucian temples and encouraged military men to read." Chao P'u was one of them. Subsequently, Chao K'uang-yin proposed that "the post of prime minister be filled by a man of learning," and he "showed great respect for the Confucians." Thus, by the Sung dynasty, Confucianism had already become an instrument of deception with which no feudal ruler could afford to part company.

The Southern Sung period witnessed even sharper class and national contradictions. Flames of peasant uprisings spread across the land. The bureaucratic big landlord class, in order to maintain its feudal prerogatives, had an urgent need of intensifying its reactionary thought control in order to practice capitulation and national betrayal abroad and deception and suppression at home. So, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius espoused by the declining slave-owning class became an extremely reactionary ideological system, namely, the Ch'eng-Chu "school of reason" or "Taoism" after they were further processed and polished by the Sung Confucians. At this time, it became especially fashionable to publicize the "Four Books" containing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The "Confucian Analects" also turned overnight from "a book for children" into a canon for "cultivating oneself, regulating one's family, rightly governing the state, and making the whole kingdom tranquil and happy." The corrupt Confucians, aimed at raising the position of the "Confucian Analects," turned Chao P'u, a minister who helped found an empire, who had been prime minister of two emperors and who qualified himself with assiduous reading of the "Confucian Analects," into a model for "governing the world" with "half of the 'Confucian Analects.'" Wang Ying-lin, a contemporary of Lo Ta-ching, also recorded the "study of the Confucian theories by Chao P'u" in his "San Tzu Ching" with a view to deceiving the common people. Later, when compiling the "History of Sung," the people of Yüan went even further and said that in his remaining years Chao P'u studied the "Confucian Analects" assiduously.

He "read it all day long" and "the book never left his hand." "When he came to court the next day, he made judgments with decisiveness." The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were described as omnipotent. If the "Confucian Analects" had been so powerful, why could the Sung rule not be consolidated and last forever? But the fact, as Lu Hsün said, was that "the scholars of the Sung dynasty kept talking about Taoism, the school of reason, and worship of Confucius and did nothing else. Although there were a few reformers such as Wang An-shih who introduced new laws, they did not have the support and failed. Since then everybody again sang the old tunes that had nothing to do with society until the fall of the Sung dynasty." The fall of the Sung dynasty in fact made a mockery of "ruling the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'."

Even so, reactionaries throughout the ages remained keen on advocating "ruling the world with the 'Confucian Analects'." This was because the "Confucian Analects" recorded Confucius' words and deeds in carrying out counter-revolutionary restoration activities and formed an utterly reactionary and decadent ideology. At the crucial historical juncture when the slave system was being replaced by the feudal system, the slave-owning class used it to oppose the newly rising landlord class. After the landlord class had seized power, its diehards used it to oppose reform and suppress the peasants.

The purpose of the declining slave-owning aristocracy in advocating ruling the world with "Confucianism" was to restore the slave system. Confucius said: "If a man can for one day restrain himself and return to propriety, all under Heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him." He also said: "Anyone who rules with virtue is like the north polar star, which is located in the center with all other stars turning toward it." His "propriety," "benevolence" and "virtue" were weapons for opposing the dictatorship of the newly rising landlord class and protecting that of the slave-owning nobles. Under cover of "propriety", "benevolence" and virtue," the slave-owning nobles butchered the slaves at will. They accused the Legalists of going against "benevolence" and "virtue" and madly attacked and ruthlessly persecuted them. In history countless progressive statesmen, thinkers and military men had died tragically at the hands of the Confucians, and in countless times people's revolutions were suppressed by the Confucians. Such were the real implications of the Confucian tenet of governing the world with "propriety," "benevolence," and "virtue."

In calling for ruling the world with the "Confucian Analects," the landlord class diehards had in mind the aim of opposing revolution, suppressing the people and maintaining their reactionary rule. Wang Yang-ming of the Ming dynasty was a butcher in the suppression of peasant uprisings. When he raised his sword and swung it at the people, he yelled: "I do not wish to kill you. Heaven condemns you to die." And when the people demanded repayment of blood debts from the butchers, he threatened them, saying: If you killed, "some day disasters will befall your descendants." Tseng Kuo-fan, the arch killer of the Ch'ing dynasty, cried loud and desperately: "Honors and riches are determined by the will of Heaven." "The high and the low, the respectable and the mean, are just like the hats and the clogs that cannot be mixed." His purpose in madly massacring the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolutionary army was to maintain the feudal order dominated by "the will of Heaven." He said gleefully: "I read the 'Confucian Analects'

as a child, and I was deeply impressed by the saying 'to restrain oneself and return to propriety is perfect virtue.' I took it as a daily reminder, studying it three times a day. Later, while leading troops and running the government, I have never for a single moment forgotten these words." From such facts as Tseng Kuo-fan's "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" in "leading troops and running the government," one can clearly see the reactionary nature of "ruling the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'". As Lu Hsün said: Confucius' methods of governing the country "were methods conceived for those who ruled the masses, namely, the high and almighty. They were not intended to benefit the masses at all." This at once revealed the class essence of "ruling the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'."

The result of ruling the world with "Confucianism" by the slave-owning aristocracy was the destruction of the slave system and the victory of the feudal system. The result of ruling the world with "Confucian Analects" by the reactionary feudal landlord class was China's degeneration into a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country and the disappearance of the feudal dynasty. Owing to the feebleness of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the fruits of victory of the 1911 Revolution were usurped by Yüan Shih-k'ai. The moment he ascended the throne as President of the Chinese Republic, this double representative of imperialism and feudalism issued a national order for "worshipping Confucianism and offering sacrifices to Confucius." Wearing a "strange sacrificial robe," he took on the posture of ruling the world with the "Confucian Analects." After a lot of gongs and drum beating, "there followed the appearance of the imperial system." However, the "Confucian Analects" did not help him at all. The restoration farce of Emperor Hunghsien lasted only 83 days.

Chiang Kai-shek, representative of big landlords and bureaucrat bourgeoisie, has also attempted to use "Confucian Analects" to stop the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal new democratic revolutionary movement led by the Chinese Communist Party. He yelled: "The Four Books and Five Classics" were "the fundamental ways of government" and "ever-lasting principles." Relying on these "ways" and "principles" and under the slogan "to suppress the bandits is to practice benevolence," he launched large-scale counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, "killing several hundred thousand communists and young students and several million workers and peasants." But, what was the result of such "encirclement and suppression"? Its positive result was the "awakening of the people throughout the country," and its "negative result was the invasion by the Japanese imperialists." By "practicing benevolence," Chiang Kai-shek meant to madly slaughter the people in order to gain the confidence of the imperialists. However, neither "half of the 'Confucian Analects'" nor the "Four Books and Five Classics" could save the Chiang family kingdom from destruction, and finally a strong dictatorship of the proletariat emerged on the great soil of China.

Historical facts show that throughout the ages, the nearer reactionaries were approaching their doom, the more fanatical they became in advocating "ruling the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'." This was because, irreconciled to defeat, they still waged a deathbed struggle,

dreaming of making a comeback. However, in the end they could not go against the logic--"make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again, till their doom."

The revolutionary classes and revolutionary people have never ceased criticizing the "Confucian Analects" and struggling against Confucianism. The Legalists, who represented the newly emerging landlord class, condemned the Confucian fallacies as "evil words" creating chaos in the country, and denounced Confucian scholars as "vermin" harmful to society. They were of the view that "the handle of ruling the world" lay in "instituting laws and setting weights and measures." The "rule of law" was indispensable to governing a world of the newly emerging landlord class. Shang Yang called for "burning the Books of Poetry and Documents and making the laws clear." It would be impossible to implement the Legalist line without criticizing the Confucian line--such was an important historical experience of the Legalist struggle against the Confucians. The reason why Ch'in Shih Huang was able to found the first unified country of landlord class dictatorship and with central authority was that he renounced Lü Pu-wei's restoration and regressive line, smashed the plots of the Lü-Lao clique in staging a coup d'etat, and resolutely enforced the measure of "burning the books and burying the Confucian scholars alive," thereby insuring the implementation of the Legalist line.

The shift of the landlord class from venerating Legalism and opposing Confucianism to venerating Confucianism and opposing Legalism, from emulating Ch'in Shih Huang to attacking him showed that the landlord class had turned from revolutionary to reactionary. At this time, although reformers of the landlord class who adhered to the Legalist line introduced some reforms, the decline of the landlord class necessarily caused their reforms to end in failure. And the class constraints of the Legalists determined their inability to make out a prescription for resolving the basic contradictions of feudal society. As the landlord class was becoming daily more reactionary and the ideological domination of the Confucian line was daily being strengthened, there were fewer and fewer chances for Legalists who called for reform and progress to practice reforms during the struggle against the Confucians.

The laboring people have always been the basic force in the anti-Confucius struggle. Liuhsia Chih, a leader of slave uprisings and a contemporary of Confucius, declared categorically: "I completely reject all Confucius says." This was a total negation of Confucian doctrines. Ch'en Sheng, the earliest leader of peasant uprisings, asked: "Is there a line of descendancy for kings, princes, generals and prime ministers?" This was an open challenge to Confucius' "conception of the Heavenly mandate." The revolutionary peasants of T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo denounced the feudal emperors as "devils," and described the Confucian "classics" as "evil books." They pointed out that "the chaos wrought by the devils and spirits can always be traced to the erroneous teachings of Confucius." They saw the natural connection between criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the overthrow of reactionary rule, and proposed to "burn all the evil

books and doctrines" of Confucius and Mencius. The unprecedentedly large scale upsurge of the anti-Confucius struggle stired up by the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolutionary peasants caused Tseng Kuo-fan and the like to cry with alarm: "The centuries-old rules of propriety and righteousness and human relationships and the codes of the 'poetry' and 'classics' have been swept to the ground." They added that this was "an unprecedented calamity since the founding of the Confucian establishment," and that even Confucius and Mencius would "weep bitterly in the other world." In short, the various peasant uprisings in China's prolonged feudal society were criticisms and negations of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The revolutionary peasants regarded opposition to Confucius and criticism of Confucianism as preliminary to creating revolutionary public opinion and as an important aspect of the revolution. By the practical action of revolutionary rebellion they smashed the chains which were binding them and pushed history forward. As Chairman Mao has said: "Only such peasant class struggles, peasant uprisings and peasant wars are the real motive force in the development of history."

Even under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, reactionaries still vainly attempt to use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to carry out restoration activities. On many occasions Lin Piao and company wrote in scrolls these words, "Of all things, this is the most important: restrain oneself and return to propriety." They desperately copied down the "collected sayings of the Four Books" and stuck to the counter-revolutionary strategy--"a little impatience will upset a great plan"--in the "Confucian Analects." He wrote: "Enduring setbacks--laying a great plan. Only when a great plan is laid is it possible to endure small setbacks. Wait and endure patiently, and then strike harshly." All this shows how earnest the class enemies are in trying to change the political climate with the "Confucian Analects"! Our struggle against Lin Piao and company is also a struggle between ruling the world with Marxism and ruling the world with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. "The proletariat wants to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie." The great victories we have won in transforming the world with Marxism prove that "socialism is incomparably superior to Confucius' 'classics'." Lin Piao and company, trumpeting "ruling the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'," vainly attempted to oppose Marxism with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, to change Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line with Confucius' reactionary line of restoring the old order, and replace the dictatorship of the proletariat by that of the bourgeoisie. However, like all fools in history, Lin Piao lifted a rock only to drop it on his toes, and "half of the 'Confucian Analects'" not only failed to give him the world ruled by landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked elements and Rightists but also was unable to save his skin.

A general look at the whole of the historical course in which the revolutionary people have criticized the "Confucian Analects" and the Confucian line sheds clear light on the deceptive and reactionary nature of "ruling the world with half of the "Confucian Analects'." Reactionaries in ancient and modern times and opportunist elements within the Party have all clung to the ossified doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and continued to stage new attacks against the people's revolution in various ways, but the revolutionaries have also continued to sum up their experience, mastered and applied the ideological weapon of revolution, exposed their conspiracies and beat back their offensives. Yet in history, the anti-Confucius struggle

waged by the newly emerging landlord class could not be thorough. The bourgeoisie, too, folded up its banner and beat the retreat after several rounds of combat. The revolutionaries of T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo once proudly declared: "Let's look at the world today. Whose world is it?.... If we really exert ourselves and unite as one man and form a great wall, it will not be difficult to see peace prevail and we shall become heroes who create the new world, heroes long to be remembered!" Yet they failed in the end because they did not have the guidance of Marxism. Today, we must replace capitalism with socialism and the bourgeois dictatorship with the proletarian dictatorship. This is "a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earthshaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past." In these struggles, it is our most serious and most formidable historical task to devastatingly criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the ideologies of all reactionary, declining classes. Marxism is a sharp weapon for the fulfillment of this task. We must unite together, read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism. We must deeply criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and throw such trash as "ruling the world with half of the 'Confucian Analects'" into the garbage can of history.

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A Proud Voyage of 32,000 Nautical Miles

by

Party Branch of Freighter "Fengch'ing"

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note: This article, which is full of revolutionary spirit, is worth reading. In 1958, Chairman Mao pointed out in his article "Introducing a Cooperative": "Do the Chinese working people still retain any of their past slavish features? None at all. They have become masters." This spirit has been again manifested by the crew of the freighter "Fengch'ing." The success of the first trial run by the oceangoing "Fengch'ing" is a paean to Chairman Mao's principle of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts." It has raised the morale of the proletariat and the revolutionary people and strongly criticized such ideas as the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace entertained by the landlord, comprador and bourgeois classes. The significance of this success is by no means confined to the shipbuilding and ocean-transportation industries. The revolutionary spirit of "Fengch'ing" should be developed by us.

On the eve of the 25th anniversary of the great People's Republic of China, our "Fengch'ing" victoriously sailed back into the Shanghai harbor after completing a long voyage. Our ship fulfilled this task under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and with the support and solicitude of the people of the motherland as well as the working class of Shanghai. The voyage took 150 days. The ship traveled 32,000 nautical miles and transported 22,000 tons of goods.

"Fengch'ing" is a 10,000-ton class oceangoing freighter designed and manufactured completely by our country and equipped from stem to stern with domestically made equipment. On its maiden voyage to the Mediterranean Sea, it sailed across the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic oceans, passed through seven straits, rounded the Cape of Good Hope twice, and crossed the equator four times, covering a total distance equal to one and a half times around the world. This is the first time in China's maritime history that a domestically manufactured 10,000-ton class freighter has made the long voyage to Europe. All comrades on board "Fengch'ing" are immensely proud and honored to have made this first voyage, which was a mission entrusted to us by the Party and the working class. This was not an ordinary long-distance voyage, but represented a battle to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and a test of the ability of self-reliance of the Chinese people. We were deeply aware of the importance of our responsibilities, but at the same time we also had full confidence in ourselves. There were only 61 of us on this first voyage, but we were supported

by the hundreds of millions of the people of the motherland, including the masses of shipbuilding workers. The fact that "Fengch'ing" had the blessings of all the people of the country gave us tremendous encouragement and strength. In spite of the high waves, strong winds and hidden reefs, "Fengch'ing" with its five-star red flag fluttering in the air maintained its militant posture and steamed forward courageously throughout the voyage. This voyage greatly boosted the morale of the proletariat and gave the Chinese people reason to feel proud of themselves. It gave encouragement to all those people who warmly love their motherland and the cause of socialism, and dealt a telling blow to a handful of anti-China clowns! It also represented an effective criticism of the slavish comprador philosophy, the doctrine of trailing behind others at a snail's pace, and other similar ideas of the landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie.

The victorious long voyage made by "Fengch'ing" has added a glorious page to China's shipbuilding industry and maritime transportation. This is a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a victory for the principle "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," and a solid fruit of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Our country has possessed 10,000-ton oceangoing freighters since the 1958 great leap forward. And since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the shipbuilding industry has made very great progress in building this kind of oceangoing vessels. More than 20 such ships have been built in Shanghai alone. Why hasn't a China-built vessel ever made a long voyage to the Mediterranean Sea until now? Is it because none of the previous ships was built well enough? No. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the shipbuilding workers built more and better ships while making relentless criticism of the revisionist line of worshipping foreign things and of national surrender and betrayal pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and displaying their spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle. Many of the ships built were completely equipped for long voyages. Has there been no long voyage because our sailors did not want to go on such a voyage in a China-built vessel? Of course not. Many of our veteran sailors have had the experience of being oppressed and bullied by imperialism and being subjected to the whims of the capitalist owners of foreign ships. For a long time they have been longing to see rapid developments in our own shipbuilding industry. How could any patriotic sailor not want to sail across the oceans and seas in domestically manufactured ships? In point of fact, all kinds of obstacles arising from the revisionist line constituted the main reason behind the delay of long voyages. Some people, who admired solely things foreign, had a blind faith in foreign ships and always found fault with China-made vessels. They spread the absurd theory that "China-made ships can only sail along the coast, not across the ocean," adding that "the China-made 10,000-horsepower engine is unreliable." Some even reached the preposterous conclusion that if there were any breakdown of foreign engines, it would only be accidental, but that any breakdown of Chinese engines was not unexpected. So, instead of sailing to harbors throughout the world, the domestically made 10,000-ton ships were one after another prevented from making transoceanic voyages.

Finally, a major debate took place early this year when the masses could tolerate this situation no longer. More than 300 hours of test runs of this 10,000-ton freighter showed the stability of its main engines, hulls, navigation aid equipment, hydraulic equipment and steering mechanism. However, there were some persons who deliberately made things difficult on certain questions, thus resulting in frequent delays in delivery of the ship. In view of this, a big-character poster was first put up by the workers of Chiangnan Shipyard. It sharply pointed out that there was nothing wrong with the ship, but that there was something wrong with the minds of certain persons. The big-character poster also pointed out that this dispute, which was seemingly over technical questions, actually reflected the struggle between two different ideas and two different lines. The target was well hit and everybody was pleased. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the seamen and shipbuilding workers have jointly criticized Lin Piao's crimes of capitulation, national betrayal, and regression and his revisionist line of worshipping everything foreign. In waging a struggle against the fallacy that "China-made ships are not capable of making long voyages," crew members of our ship put up a big-character poster, entitled: "We want to make revolution, and "Fengch'ing" must sail on transoceanic voyages." Many seamen declared that a road is beaten out by men, and the first navigation route was also opened by men. A Chinese-built ship must sail on a long voyage. But some people laughed at us, saying that when we wanted to sail "Fengch'ing" on a long voyage we only wanted to show off, that we had better change the name "Fengch'ing" into "Fengt'ou" [showing off]. Giving tit for tat, the seamen answered: We have no intention to show off ourselves, we intend only to prove the power of the working class! The success of building 10,000-ton ships and 10,000-horsepower engines is a solid achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are new socialist things. Our struggle for the right to sail a vessel made by China itself on a long voyage is to safeguard the great proletarian cultural revolution and protect the new socialist things. No matter what hardships we might encounter, we were determined to sail "Fengch'ing" on a long voyage.

The shipbuilding workers and seamen said rightly that the long voyage of "Fengch'ing" is the outcome of criticism and struggle. Without the revolutionary mass movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, there could never have been a long voyage like this one. This event has once again helped us realize the importance of grasping revolution in the superstructure. Without grasping revolution in the superstructure, concepts which worship things foreign would emerge, and there would be poor results in implementing the principle of "maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts." By grasping revolution in the superstructure, suppressing the ill wind of the bourgeoisie, carrying forward the justice of the proletariat and vigorously raising the revolutionary spirit, we will be able to accomplish what we once thought was impossible and push forward our cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction at a faster pace. The victorious long voyage of "Fengch'ing" is a victory in the great battle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius--a struggle through which Marxism prevails over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure.

There are certain persons who have always looked down upon domestic products. With regard to the recent long voyage of "Fengch'ing," some persons had asserted that it might sail on a long voyage on condition that its radar, electronic compass and three other home-made items were replaced by imports. The revolutionary seamen and Shanghai's industrial workers took the opposite view. Change? Oh, yes! The directional finder, UHF radio telephone and nylon ropes were imported items and should be replaced with Chinese ones. Why did we insist on using all things Chinese? Did we call for rejecting everything foreign? Of course not. We do not reject all foreign things indiscriminately. It is not impermissible to use some foreign things on our ships. We must study all foreign experiences, both positive and negative, and learn from them. The question is what basis we should rest on. Chairman Mao has taught us: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts." Here there were two different types of replacement, namely, replacing Chinese items with foreign ones or replacing foreign items with Chinese ones. This is not simply a technical or professional question. It is a question which reflects basically two different stands, sentiments and world outlooks, and concerns whether we adhere to the principle of relying on our own efforts to achieve regeneration. In our country, if we do not have a feeling for the things made by ourselves but dislike them or worry about their reliability, we would lose our patriotism, let alone Marxism. Like a mobile industrial exhibition, a 10,000-ton freighter reflects the level of the country's industrial development. In countries able to build 10,000-ton ships, there are also very few ships which are completely equipped with domestically made equipment. Some produce only the hulls, the rudders, the main engines, subsidiary engines or navigation aid equipment, and very often a ship is assembled from parts produced by several countries. Our "Fengch'ing" is a completely Chinese-made ship--from its machinery to the living quarters for its seamen, a fact which eloquently indicates that after 25 years of painstaking struggle, our country's industrial production has reached a new level under the leadership of Chairman Mao. "Fengch'ing" anchored in harbors of eight countries on its 32,000 nautical-mile voyage. Wherever it went, people put to us questions about our vessel. And we always answered proudly: "Everything of it was made in China." When we gave the same answer to our foreign friends and overseas compatriots, we enjoyed with great happiness the victory of the principle of "maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands, and relying on our own efforts," and took tremendous pride in our motherland which is becoming richer and more powerful with each passing day!

Some persons may say that they do not dislike home-made products, but that they worry about their quality. Since a transoceanic ship has to endure strong winds and rough seas on its long voyages, the quality of the ship's navigation equipment must of course not be neglected. But different stands provide different answers to the question of quality. There can be no use value of products without actually using them and it is impossible to evaluate their quality. It is necessary to improve and perfect the products while using them--this has always been so with the process of development. To refuse to use a product unless it is perfect will only kill that product. There is always a process through which the quality of products improves. If we look at the world history of shipbuilding and marine diesel engines, we we see

that it took the capitalist countries 70 years from producing a 25-horsepower marine diesel engine to a 10,000-horsepower engine with relative stability and reliability. Are their products now a hundred percent perfect?
A captain of our ship had had the following experience. At one time and another in 1972, he had brought back two foreign oceangoing vessels bought by China, and in both cases major accidents had occurred. Both ships had drifted on the sea for more than eight hours, and the main engines that sustained damage were the so-called trustworthy "famous brands." What about the quality of our oceangoing vessels? Facts are the best witness. On this 32,000 nautical mile voyage, our ship had passed through seas full of coral reefs, stormy straits, and narrow harbors from the Northern Hemisphere to the Southern Hemisphere and then from the Southern Hemisphere back to the Northern Hemisphere. The Cape of Good Hope is described as a place where "the sun doesn't shine for three consecutive days, the sea won't remain peaceful for three days in a row, and the Cape is good to look at but not to pass through." Our freighter passed it safely twice. Once, the wind force reached the eighth grade and the waves were as high as four meters. A foreign vessel hoisted two black balls indicating that it had lost control. But our "Fengch'ing" greeted the wild winds and angry waves with a smile and steamed forward at a leisurely pace. Throughout the voyage, the main engine had revolved 2,300 hours, and twice along the two banks of South Africa had continuously revolved for over 16 days--with remarkable efficiency. All along the way, it was tested by the four seasons, the heavy winds, huge waves, fog, violent rainstorms, low pressure--in fact, all kinds of weather. Did some people not trust our home-made radar, electronic compass, radio transmitter, etc? In fact, it was these home-made instruments that insured the safe navigation of our 10,000-ton ship. Although there are certain imperfect aspects in our young shipbuilding industry and the industry which produces equipment and parts for ships, it is beyond all doubt that the transoceanic ships designed and built by our country are capable of sailing on long voyages. To improve the quality of these ships is not only a task of the shipbuilding workers, but also the responsibility of us seamen. Every single long voyage helps us accumulate certain data and provides us with certain experience on building a railway on the sea. By unceasingly sailing on long voyages, we will be able to accumulate more data and further improve our ships in a sustained way. Given the common efforts of shipbuilding workers and seamen, our shipbuilding industry and maritime industry will develop still more rapidly.

"Man must have some spirit." The revolutionary vigor of the proletariat generated by the masses is as powerful as the world's oceans which are capable of carrying thousands of ships. The recent long voyage of "Fengch'ing" began in the midst of a revolutionary high tide in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, which raised the seamen's consciousness of class and line and aroused everyone's sense of responsibility to revolution. Before the voyage, revolutionary mass criticism was launched on the one hand and intensive activities to learn and master the technical performance of the new ship were unfolded on the other to insure finer skills. The crew members said: "The shipbuilding workers have built such an excellent engine and ship for the motherland, we must strive to be good seamen." During the entire 32,000 nautical-mile journey our ship was well maintained outside and inside at every port of call. We were praised by foreign

friends and overseas Chinese. They all said that our ship was good in quality and was well maintained. Some foreign people who visited the cabin were amazed to find it so tidy, saying: "Oh, we can practically dance here." If anyone should ask us about the sense of responsibility on the part of the crew, all we have to do is to cite the maintenance of our cargoes. When we set out, we carried 11,000 tons of rice for Rumania. Rice is a more "delicate" commodity among cargoes. It was placed in the cargo hold for two months and was subject to weather changes of the four seasons. Twice we passed through the equator, and the temperature of the hold was as high as 40 degrees. We ran into heavy winds on the sea, with huge waves flooding the deck and pounding at the cover of the hold. To prevent damage to the rice, the first mate led the crew members of the rice protection group to carry out inspection of the cargo hold three to five times a day, whether in the icy cold winter or the swelteringly hot summer, in order to preserve a proper ratio between the temperature of the hold, the temperature of the rice and air humidity. In the nearly two months from Shanghai to the Constanta port, the temperature of the rice never exceeded 30 degrees. When we arrived in Rumania, the 11,000 tons of rice were as good as when we set out, winning the praise of the Rumanians. It took 150 days to reach Rumania from Shanghai and then return to Shanghai from Rumania, and in this time people of the whole ship fought in unity. All along the way, poems and essays were written by members of the whole crew singing the praises of the great mother country and of the great victories of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

"Fengch'ing" has returned triumphantly from a voyage of 32,000 nautical miles. Some comrades said that it set out gloriously and came back triumphantly. We thought so, too, but we added: it set out gloriously amid struggle and came back triumphantly amid struggle, but the struggle has not yet ended. Since the policy of "independence and self-reliance" is a long-term one, to adhere to this policy and oppose worshipping things foreign is also a permanent task of struggle. The idea of worshipping things foreign is nothing but rubbish left over from prolonged imperialist aggression against our country. So long as classes and class struggle and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism and revisionism exist in society, this kind of thinking will emerge again and again. Time is needed to completely wipe out this rubbish; we cannot expect to wipe it out in several rounds of combat.

However, independence and self-reliance is a socialist trend that cannot be altered according to man's will and cannot be stopped by anyone. The heart-warming episodes which occurred before and after the ship's long voyage have made us more aware of this. The ship and its equipment were manufactured by more than 500 coordinating units in Shanghai and elsewhere throughout the country. What kind of spirit did the workers of these units display? The body of the ship and its main engines were produced by the workers of Chiangnan Shipyard. The first engine they built was installed in a straw shed erected in a vacant lot beside the hull-building workshop. To insure its quality, they covered it with their own clothes when rain fell so it might not be damaged. During hot days, the workers stood all day long beside the machine to observe the effects of direct radiation of sunlight. Through arduous struggle, they produced a high-quality machine with their own

sweat. The nylon cables used on the ship were made by a small factory with 250 workers in a side street--the Red Guard Cable Plant. Since the plant building was low and the space was small, the workers dug a hole six feet deep on the ground in which they installed the machine they designed and then produced high-quality cables. During the time when we were preparing for the long voyage, workers from many coordinating factories went aboard the ship to help us master the technical performance of the new equipment, provide us with necessary spare parts and accessories, and wish us a victorious voyage. All this serves to explain that the Chinese workers have firm faith in themselves and can build their motherland into a prosperous and flourishing socialist country with their own hands. At foreign ports, we met many overseas Chinese who gazed at our ship with earnest eyes. Some, upon coming on deck, felt as if they had set foot on the soil of their own country. There was an old overseas Chinese in Mauritius who had nine children. As soon as "Fengch'ing" anchored, they all came aboard the ship for a visit. The old man inspected everything carefully and touched it tenderly from bow to stern and from conning tower to engine room. When he learned that everything was made by China, he was so moved that his eyes were filled with tears. Overseas Chinese newspapers published articles and reports with attention-attracting headlines in presenting this Chinese-built 10,000-ton ship to its readers. When we were about to depart, overseas Chinese came to wave good bye to us, shouting with tears in their eyes: "Come again, you ship from the motherland!" Such moving scenes served to prove that adhering to the policy of "independence and self-reliance" and quickening the pace of the motherland's socialist construction is not only the common will of the working class and revolutionary people at home but also the common desire of thousands upon thousands of overseas Chinese. We are a developing socialist country. The countries and peoples of the Third World as well as the broad masses of the revolutionary people the world over all ardently hope that we will make still greater achievements under the policy of "independence and self-reliance" so as to better discharge our glorious international obligations.

The first long voyage of "Fengch'ing" is over. But the revolution is developing and the struggle continuing. We must forever continue marching forward toward our triumphant goal along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, riding on the winds and breaking the waves!

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The Key Lies in Having Leadership Follow the Correct Ideological and Political Line

- Investigation report on Szechwan Motor Vehicle Plant

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

The Szechwan Motor Vehicle Plant was newly set up in the great proletarian cultural revolution. For sometime in the past, due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao's revisionist line, it was rather backward. Since the beginning of this year, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius the plant Party committee has thoroughly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies, leading the masses of workers to penetratingly criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line and the crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in plotting to split the Party and the working-class ranks. After revolutionary unity has thus been enhanced, there has quickly emerged an excellent situation of vigorous development. Throughout the plant workers are talking about the line, the general situation, the Party spirit and unity as well as persistently grasping revolution and promoting production. They have overfulfilled three months ahead of schedule this year's car production plan set by the state.

Why has the plant undergone such tremendous changes in less than a year? Its Party committee has deeply realized that the key lies in coming to grips with the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and continuously having leadership follow the correct ideological and political line.

The Party committee's understanding of this problem has been gradually enhanced in the practice of struggle. The truth was that at the outset it lacked a correct analysis of the problems in the plant. What was the cause for disunity among the workers and the lag in production? The Party committee was divided on its views. Some complained of lack of support from the higher-ups, others of disobedience on the part of the workers. But they didn't go among the worker masses to seriously listen to their criticism and opinions, nor did they analyze problems on the plane of class struggle and line struggle. Due to the failure to grasp the line as the key link, the backward outlook of the plant remained unchanged for a long time.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, besides considerably arousing the revolutionary ardor and socialist activism of the worker masses, has also deeply jolted "the squad" of the plant Party committee. With the help of the higher-ups and urged on by the workers, the Party committee first organized its leading members to study again and again the relevant writings by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and a series of directives from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee concerning the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, to review a number of statements made by Chairman Mao on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and in close conjunction with the practice of the class struggle and line struggle in the plant and their own thinking, unfold revolutionary mass criticism against Lin Piao and Confucius. Preliminary study and criticisms enabled them to see more clearly the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line and recognize that the key to changing the backward features

of the plant rested with the line and that the key to which line to be implemented rested with the leadership. In the acute struggle between two classes and two lines, the degree of the line consciousness on the part of Party committee members and which line they followed decided the orientation of development and features of the plant. On this basis and in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, "put problems on the table," they unfolded an active ideological struggle through which to identify the main problems existing among the leading members of the Party committee in regard to ideology and political line and to discern the right and wrong lines in regard to some more controversial problems facing the plant. This made everyone unite on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Having the correct ideological and political line involves an acute ideological struggle. To solve this problem properly, we must have the spirit of boldly criticizing ourselves and sincerely accept the criticism and supervision of the masses. Previously, among leading members of the Party committee, some had made mistakes in carrying out the line and policies, but they refused to admit them; some, remembering the old scores and personal grudges and favors, were unable to unite with those cadres and masses who had once opposed them; some, failing to take a correct attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution and mass criticisms, felt frustrated at heart; some were caught in the quagmire of bourgeois factionalism, and so on. These erroneous tendencies not only interfered with the unity of the leading squad but also directly affected the unity among the masses. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius raised their revolutionary consciousness. In the spirit of strictly dissecting themselves and starting from the interests of the proletarian revolution, they courageously laid bare their own erroneous tendencies both ideologically and politically, consciously using Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to get rid of viruses and influence of Lin Piao's revisionist line, using the proletarian Party spirit to criticize bourgeois factionalism, using the general situation of the socialist revolutionary cause and the principle of proletarian revolutionary unity to denounce thoughts, words and deeds harmful to the working-class unity, and using the idea of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to eliminate incorrect attitudes toward the great proletarian cultural revolution. On their own initiative, the principal leading members of the Party committee went among the masses to make self-criticism, and they were forgiven and welcomed by the masses of workers. Said the worker comrades: "Let's support those cadres who have seriously corrected their mistakes and actively led us to grasp revolution and promote production." As a result, not only has the leadership of the Party committee followed the correct ideological and political line and the unity of the "squad" of the Party committee been strengthened, but a good example has been set for the masses of workers to unite together.

By adjusting its ideological and political line for leadership, the plant Party committee has further realized that to unite all the workers in the plant, the fundamental question is to grasp well the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. It has seriously transmitted to the workers the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee concerning criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, and its members, actively standing in the van of the movement, have taken the lead in studying, in making criticism and self-criticism, and joined the masses in battle. This has resulted in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius developing rapidly from one

workshop to the entire plant, to shifts and groups. On this basis and guided by prevailing circumstances, they have organized in a planned and systematic way four campaigns to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Grasping the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line and in relation to the major problems of right and wrong in the current class and line struggles, they harshly criticized Lin Piao's reactionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," his crimes in splitting the Party and the revolutionary ranks and in disrupting the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Revolutionary mass criticism aroused profound proletarian feelings of the workers toward the Party and Chairman Mao and their incomparable hatred against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. It was understood that Lin Piao, as the chief representative of the landlord and bourgeois classes vainly attempting to restore capitalism in our country, was the root-cause of disunity within the working class, that we workers had every reason to practice unity and none to practice splittism. If we practiced bourgeois factionalism and disunity, we would fall into the trap of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Revolutionary mass criticism thus enabled the masses of workers to clearly distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and between the right and wrong lines on the principal controversies in the plant and thus considerably strengthen revolutionary unity.

To promote properly revolutionary unity among workers of the whole plant, it is necessary to organize a stout backbone force united around Party organizations at various levels. Since the beginning of this year, centering on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the distinction between the right and wrong lines and the strengthening of revolutionary unity, the plant Party committee has successively held four study classes attended by members of the Party and revolutionary committees, middle-level cadres, group leaders and representatives of the masses on a rotation basis. Following the development of revolution and production, this backbone force has been continuously reinforced with advanced figures and activists emerging from among the masses. Like a rolling snowball, this backbone force has grown larger and larger, from an initial membership of over 100 to a number accounting for one-fourth of the total work force. Having been trained and educated by the Party and tempered in practical struggle, these backbone elements have considerably raised their consciousness of line struggle, and under the centralized leadership of the Party committee, they are leading the way in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, in fighting self-interests and revisionism, in overcoming bourgeois factionalism and forging unity, in grasping revolution and promoting production. They have become an important force in cementing revolutionary unity and developing the excellent situation in the plant.

To forge revolutionary unity, we must adhere to the mass line and arouse everyone to be a promoter of revolutionary unity. At the same time, we must grasp ideological education as a central link and arm the masses with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Only by doing arduous and elaborate ideological work can we clarify ideas and unite with comrades. Remembering what Chairman Mao has said, "The method of having heart-to-heart

talks is fine," the plant Party committee, relying on the backbone elements, has successively whipped up four upsurges in criticizing splittism, promoting unity and promoting heart-to-heart talks among the masses. The principal members of the Party committee were the first to visit the cadres and the masses in their homes and have heart-to-heart talks with them, when they made self-criticism, rectified errors and acknowledged responsibility for them. Insisting on the principle of proletarian Party spirit, they enlightened and educated the masses in strictly distinguishing the two different types of contradictions, in correctly dealing with those comrades who held different views, cadres who had committed mistakes as well as themselves, so all hatred was focused on Lin Piao and company. In the spirit of each making more self-criticism, the masses of workers visited each other, with comrades in some workshops visiting all the workers in their homes. In the steel-casting workshop there were two comrades who were "enemies". Through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, they shook hands with each other and talked to each other emotionally, with tears in their eyes. One said: "Influenced by Lin Piao's revisionist line, I used to take you as my enemy and tried to harm you." The other said: "In the past, I blamed you for my mistakes. Now, I know it was Lin Piao who stood between us. We were victims of his revisionist line. Lin Piao was our common enemy." Today, they have teamed up as "friends" in grasping revolution and promoting production. After such mass heart-to-heart talks "knots" hampering unity among the masses have been done away with. Throughout the plant, a new situation has appeared in which everyone is talking about the line, the general situation, the Party spirit and unity, and is criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius like everyone else.

Like that of other things, the process of forging revolutionary unity is not straight but tortuous. As the cadres and the masses in the plant, through grasping the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and the line, were continuously strengthening revolutionary unity, some people blew up a gust of "cold wind," saying that in stressing the need to strictly distinguish between and correctly handle two different types of contradictions, the plant Party committee "does not have a strong smell of gun powder" and "is setting limits and tunes." They said that promoting revolutionary unity was promoting the "middle course." Should we let these erroneous ideas spread like a flood or adhere to the proletarian stand and principle and clearly express our attitudes? This was a severe test to the Party committee. At that time, the Party committee studied once again the relevant teachings and directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and persistently took the Party's basic line as the key link in analyzing and observing problems. It called in succession several meetings attended by leaders at various levels and backbone elements with the object of unifying views and opinions. During discussions, everyone, on the basis of past experience and lessons, analyzed and criticized the so-called "inadequate smell of gun powder," "setting limits and tunes", etc. It was held that all these ideas showed a lack of class analysis and ran counter to the general orientation of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. Against whom should the "gun" be directed? Lin Piao and Confucius were our enemies, and we must criticize them, the more the better. Toward our comrades, including those who have committed serious mistakes, we can only

apply the formula "Unity-criticism-unity" and the policy, "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." We must draw the distinction between enemies and comrades. Otherwise, we would confuse the contradictions of two different types and our class alignments to the detriment of our unity. As for some comrades who formerly had opposed each other, after an active ideological struggle was unfolded, each of them made more self-criticism and arrived at unity on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought. This was basically different from the "doctrine of the mean."

In promptly organizing cadres and the masses to do away with all kinds of interference with revolutionary unity, the plant Party committee has been praised and supported by the masses of workers. Facts show that resolutely resisting and criticizing all kinds of erroneous ideas is necessary in insuring the development of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius in a correct direction. This has basically protected the revolutionary ardor and socialist activism of the broad masses, as well as educating those with an erroneous viewpoint.

The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is an important guarantee for forging revolutionary unity; it is also a powerful motive force stimulating the development of socialist production. Following the deepening of the movement, revolutionary unity has been further strengthened, the masses of workers have displayed greater revolutionary spirit and soaring socialist activism. They say: "Lin Piao wanted to restore capitalism but we must vigorously work toward socialism. We must make good the time lost to the revisionist line." How can we organize and display the socialist activism of the worker masses promptly? The Party committee re-studied the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and the experience of Tach'ing, making more clearly the need to wholeheartedly rely on the working class in unfolding the mass movement "to learn from Tach'ing in industry." Since the beginning of this year, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they have successively staged three production campaigns, each time having a concrete objective and combat slogans. All the workers were mobilized. Each doggedly stuck to his production post, striving to achieve a breakthrough in production. During spare times, they held criticism meetings, wrote critical articles to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and called on and talked to each other in forging revolutionary unity. Leading cadres and office workers also went to the forefront of production and joined the worker masses in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and in productive labor. Thus, driven by the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, production has gone up step by step. There has appeared a lively situation marked by continuous upsurge in revolution and production. In all workshops there have emerged a number of advanced people and advanced groups persisting in revolutionary unity and persisting in grasping revolution and stimulating production. The righteous spirit of the proletariat has been considerably promoted. Among the masses of workers, the practice of taking pride in being advanced and vying to be the advanced has been further encouraged. Both revolution and production have developed wave after wave.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." What has happened in the Szechwan Motor Vehicle Plant has once more shown that the problems of some so-called "old, big and difficult" units are not so hard to solve. So long as they firmly and unswervingly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies and do well in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and in forging revolutionary unity, the masses will act positively, overcome all difficulties, change the backward features of production, and make more contributions to the State.

Investigation Team of CCP Szechwan Provincial Committee

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A Striking Difference Between the Two Economic Systems

by

Hsia Li-chih (夏力之)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

Today, economic crisis, characterized by slump, inflation, and an enormous increase in unemployment, is pounding away at the entire capitalist world. Especially the two superpowers are having a hard time. This is an expression of the great disorder that is a feature of the international situation, as indicated in the saying "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." By contrast, our great socialist motherland is thriving, with her production and construction developing vigorously. China has already torn up inflation by the roots. Her finances have been growing firmer and firmer day by day, and the value of her currency has remained stable for many years. It is a stable currency which is a rare thing in the world. The striking difference between the two economic systems--socialist and capitalist--as reflected in the monetary system vividly proves that the socialist system is incomparably superior to the capitalist system.

The stability of a country's currency is largely indicated by whether its purchasing power can be kept stable over a long time. For the past two decades and more, the purchasing power of China's renminbi has not changed. The market price of items of daily necessity for the people, such as food grain, cotton cloth, salt and coal, has kept steady all along, while prices of a number of manufactured goods in daily use have gradually fallen. Ours is a developing country, and the living standards of the people are not yet high. But we have accomplished the transformation to socialist ownership, adhered to the socialist road, continued to criticize capitalist tendencies, and kept the value of the renminbi stable for a long time. The life of the people is therefore secure and, with the expansion of production, is gradually improving. This is seen in the rise in savings deposits by both the urban and rural population. At the same time, monetary stability is conducive to the exchange at equal values between industrial and farm products, to expanding the ties between town and country, and to consolidating the worker-peasant alliance economically. China's renminbi enjoys ever-growing prestige in the world. It has been neither devalued nor revalued. More than 60 countries and regions now use the renminbi for quoting prices and settling accounts in trade and for other economic dealings with China. This has played a vital role in upholding the principle of equality and mutual benefit, developing foreign trade, expanding economic relations with foreign countries, and eliminating interference by capitalist financial and monetary crises.

In the imperialist countries, worsening economic crisis has brought rocketing prices, devaluation of currency and inflation, and has touched off successive explosions of financial and monetary emergencies. In the "Dollar Empire," the United States, the past two decades and more have seen growing inflation, a steady decline in the purchasing power of the currency and rising market prices. Particularly in recent years, things have gone from bad to worse. The price index of consumer goods in the United States

for the first half of this year was 47.1 percent above that for 1967. Under the drastic impact of the financial and monetary crises, the United States has been compelled to devalue its currency twice, in 1971 and 1973. The prestige of the dollar has fallen sharply. Recently, the price of gold in terms of US dollars in the international free market has been three times higher than the official price. The so-called "Dollar Empire" went bankrupt long ago. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is no better off. Commodity supplies on the home market are scarce. The black market is rampant. Prices are rising. And the purchasing power of the ruble has been falling continuously. The retail prices of 69 major items of consumer goods sold in state commercial enterprises in 1970 were about 20 percent higher than in 1963. On the free market, prices are still higher--from double to several times higher. The foreign exchange value of the Soviet ruble was devalued 55 percent in 1961 when it was converted into the new ruble. The ruble has in fact been losing value all along.

The present financial and monetary crises in the capitalist world are a reflection of its deepening political and economic crises. They are an inevitable outcome of the search for world hegemony and external expansion by the two superpowers, and their efforts to shift their crises onto others and to pursue a policy of plunder and aggression. Trying to ease and shake off its economic crisis, US imperialism has, over a long time, expanded government expenditure and increased its military spending, which blindly stimulates production and creates a kind of fictitious prosperity. It has also been going in for greater military expenditure abroad, exporting large amounts of capital and contending for raw materials and markets. This has resulted in worse inflation, greater financial deficits and an unfavorable balance of international payments year after year. In 18 of the more than 20 years between 1949 and 1973 the United States had a financial deficit totalling 150 billion dollars. During 21 years in the same period the unfavorable balance of international payments grew progressively to a total of 88 billion dollars. To meet the financial deficit, the United States has resorted to higher taxation, the sale of bonds and the wanton issuing of bank-notes. All this has run it into heavier debts and sent prices rocketing. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has also landed itself in hopeless straightjackets. To seek high profits, it has resorted to capitalist management and engaged in production blindly, so that the national economy has been thrown out of balance. It has also gone in for frenzied expansion of armaments and war preparation and pushed military expenditure up to great heights. According to statistics from various quarters, the military appropriations of Soviet revisionism have reached an annual total of between 60 billion and 70 billion US dollars. Military spending as a percentage of the national income and of the total value of national production has surpassed that of the United States. Soviet revisionism has big ambitions, but is lacking in strength. It repudiates its domestic debts and begs for loans abroad. By 1971, Soviet revisionism had issued domestic bonds totalling 28.4 billion rubles, and it deferred repayment of 25.8 billion rubles of matured bonds to a period of 20 years after 1974. According to incomplete figures, its foreign debts grew, between 1964 and April 1974, to 8.5 billion US dollars. This self-styled "developed socialist country" has sunk so low that it has had to resort to begging.

To shove their crises on to others, the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are both trying to put the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America under their control, and also to bully those developed countries that are not their match in strength. On the international market, they do their best to force up the prices of manufactured goods and keep down the prices of farm produce and raw materials, so as to exploit and plunder the developing countries. They make big munitions deals for exorbitant profits, and have thus become the world's munitions dealers. They practice hegemonism in international financial and monetary affairs. One of the two superpowers imposes the "exchange ruble" in its "community" and treats its home ruble as "international currency" in an attempt to control the economy of the member countries of the "community." The other superpower exports a large amount of dollars to make good the unfavorable balance in its international income and expenditure, so that the dollar runs wild on the international monetary market and sharpens the financial and monetary crises of the capitalist world. These acts of the two superpowers have led to the struggle of the developing countries against hegemonism, international exploitation and plunder, and also to the strong discontent and resistance from other developed countries. This has, in turn, deepened the political and economic crises of the two superpowers. These acts, like the reactionary acts of all exploiting classes, always begin with harming others and end with harming oneself.

As far back as more than 20 years ago, Chairman Mao foretold the inevitability of US imperialism's economic crises. He said: "The economic power of US imperialism, which grew during World War II, is confronted with unstable and daily shrinking domestic and foreign markets. The further shrinking of these markets will cause economic crisis to break out." This directive of Chairman Mao's is of vital significance in guiding our analysis of the current political and economic crises of the capitalist world, the two superpowers in particular. In the imperialist and social-imperialist countries, the means of production are in the hands of the monopoly capitalist class and its representatives. They expand production blindly for maximum profits while doing their best to lower the living standards of the working people. Thus the domestic market is constantly shrinking. At the same time, owing to the emergence of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and other regions in the post-war period, imperialism's foreign markets have been shrinking greatly too. The contradiction between growing production and unstable, shrinking domestic and foreign markets has become more and more striking in the imperialist countries and has inevitably landed them in frequent economic and financial crises. As a result, the working people are becoming more impoverished, the number of unemployed is rising, workers strikes are breaking out ceaselessly and class contradictions are sharpening. The imperialist policies of plunder and aggression abroad are coming a cropper. The struggle for raw materials and for markets between the imperialist countries, between the two superpowers in particular, is intensifying, and they are meeting with ever stronger resistance from the developing countries. Economic crisis is a fatal disease of the imperialist and social-imperialist countries, an inevitable result of the growing contradiction between social production and capitalist ownership.

As Engels pointed out: "Conflict becomes inevitable, and, because they have not solved the contradictions before the destruction of the capitalist mode of production itself, it becomes cyclical." This is an objective law independent of man's will.

Economic or financial or monetary crisis is non-existent in socialist China. Here, socialist public ownership has taken the place of bourgeois private ownership. The working class and other laboring people have become the masters of the country, thus destroying the economic foundations for the exploitation of man by man. Our production is aimed at meeting the needs of the whole society. The principle guiding our socialist production is "to develop the economy and insure supplies." All this paves the way for the planned, proportionate development of social production. In the financial and monetary field, we have long ago eliminated inflation left over from the old China and set up an independent, unified and stable monetary system. For two decades and more, China's people's currency has gone through the ordeal of the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea, of the 3 years of severe natural calamities [1959-1961], and of the incessant disturbances and sabotage by the class enemies at home and abroad. The people's currency has remained steady and stable from first to last, bearing witness to the vitality of our socialist monetary system and reflecting the incomparable superiority of the socialist system.

The people's currency is always steady because the state has in hand large quantities of commodities and puts them on the market at stable prices. This is one of the features differentiating the socialist from the capitalist economic system. As we know, a currency is the general equivalent of commodities, and "the circulation of a currency is merely a manifestation of changes in the form of commodities." With the socialist economy developed and strong material resources, the State has in hand an ample stock of commodities. By supplying them to the market at steady prices it will be possible to keep the value of the currency stable. Ever since the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese people, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, have kept to the policy of "developing the economy and insuring supplies." They have steadily expanded agriculture and boosted light and heavy industry, supplying the market with increasing quantities of commodities. State purchase of commodities and total retail sales in 1973 were seven times those in the early days after liberation. The State is keeping a growing stock of commodities. The commercial departments at the end of last June had in stock twice as much goods as in June 1965. For every yuan of currency issued, there are several yuan's worth of commodities. This assures supplies of goods for the currency in circulation and thus guarantees a constantly stable value for the people's currency.

One other important factor in the constant stability of the people's currency is the well-planned, solidly grounded state budget balancing revenue and expenditure. In the early days of the People's Republic, Chairman Mao had pointed out the need to "consolidate the balance of financial receipts and expenditures and the stability of commodity prices." Whether financial receipts can be balanced against expenditures will have a direct bearing on the issuance of the currency and the stability of its value. "The State bank issues bank-notes basically in accordance with the needs of the developing national economy." In our construction of socialism, we always adhere to the principle of keeping our revenue and expenditure in balance. Balancing

the budget by means of issuing more currency is not allowed. Generally, the state budget ends up with some savings, as revenue exceeds expenditure. The State's reserves are constantly growing. In special circumstances, like natural calamities, adjustments are made to insure a balance through measures to increase production and practice frugality, and reserves obtained from good harvests are used to make up for poor harvests. Borrowing or the issue of currency is never resorted to. This is why China stands out as a country free of domestic and foreign debts. China's financial consolidation and balance insures that the issuance of bank-notes can be controlled within the bounds of developing production and expanding commodity circulation and that there will be no indiscriminate issuance of bank-notes, as has happened in capitalist society, that causes inflation.

The people's currency also owes its constant stability to the centralized, unified management of the issue of currency by the State under the socialist system, and the regulation of the release and recall of currency in a planned way. The state bank alone handles the issue of currency and exercises centralized management over the people's currency, which is the only currency in circulation in the country. The people's currency released by the bank is drawn back in again through organized measures, mainly through the supply of commodities, in a planned way. The State makes planned arrangements for the amount of wages it pays out every year, the amount of agricultural produce and sideline products it buys, and accordingly for the volume of currency to be released and the volume of commodities to supply. This makes it possible for the currency to be released and drawn back in through planned channels in order to insure normal circulation of the currency. In the course of executing a plan, in case of unforeseen circumstances or localized and temporary imbalances, the State is fully capable of carrying out planned adjustments in order to arrive at a new balance. This is another mark of the superiority of our socialist planned economy.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The constant stability of the people's currency, in the last analysis, is the result of the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line over the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Once, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company put forward their reactionary views for currency devaluation and inflation in a vain attempt to open a gap in the financial and monetary field that links up the whole of the national economy so as to disrupt the socialist economy, subvert the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we promptly held their sabotage activities in check. The great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters led by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao respectively and crushed their conspiracies to restore capitalism. Now, at a time when the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is developing in a widespread, deep-going and sustained manner, our socialist construction is about to enter upon a new stage of development. China's socialist economic system, including the financial and monetary system, is being increasingly consolidated in the two-line struggle and its prospects are infinitely bright. Let us advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, stick to the principle of "grasping revolution and promoting production," and score new and greater victories!

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Play the Role of Tung Tzu, Learn from Him, and Be a Good Child of the Party

by

Chu Hsin-yün (祝新远)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

After the film "Sparkling Red Star" was shown to the public, everyone took a keen interest in me and wanted to know how I played the role of little Tung Tzu. In fact, I knew little myself. It was only with the help of PLA uncles and aunties that I learned from and played Tung Tzu.

When I entered the "August 1" Studio last year, I was still under 10-years old. On hearing that I was to play little Tung Tzu, a star role in the film, I became really frightened, not knowing how to play this role. Once, the leadership sent for the several of us and said to us: "In asking you to take part in the film, the Party has given you a fighting task. You must act like little Tung Tzu, obey the Party and work hard to accomplish the task well." Then we were told the story of little Tung Tzu and shown the pictorial, "Sparkling Red Star." Slowly I came to understand that Tung Tzu was an extraordinary little hero. I thought to myself: if I could play Tung Tzu well and let many little friends learn from him and be good children of the Party like him, what a fine thing it would be!

I particularly liked Tung Tzu, and intended to play him well. But to do so was not easy. Born in the old society, Tung Tzu grew up on a farm and knew how to chop wood and climb trees. He also had to gather firewood and do sundry work for the owner of a rice shop. Born in the new society, I have grown up in the city of Peking. Being the youngest kid in the family, I could do nothing. What should I do? Learn from Tung Tzu! Tung Tzu was a member of a children's corps, and I am a little red soldier. We are both children of the Party. I must learn to do what he did.

The first thing I learned was chopping wood. The director told me, "The chopper is a weapon Tung Tzu used to fight the enemy. You must learn to chop and chop hard." As taught by the uncles and aunties, I chopped hard on a stump. But chopping for over ten minutes, I felt numb and my arms ached. They asked me to take a rest. I thought: Tung Tzu was not afraid of hardship. He fought together with the Red Army uncles on the mountains. It was even difficult to get the supply of edible salt. When Uncle Wu asked him whether life was too hard for him, he said, "I'm not afraid of hardship at all!" Could I be afraid of hardship in learning from Tung Tzu? So, every day I worked under the sun (my skin was too white and might be somewhat darkened), learning to chop persistently. I made it at last.

To let us learn chopping and carrying wood, the uncles often took us to the countryside to learn from the little friends there. All of them could carry two big bundles with a shoulder pole, but I found it hard to

carry two small bundles. Staggering, I could not hold the bundles steady with my hands. Each time I carried wood, blood marks appeared on my shoulders. But when I thought of Tung Tzu's courage, I became courageous too. In learning to climb trees and bamboo rafts and during location shooting in a remote place, I kept telling myself. Learn from Tung Tzu and don't be afraid of hardship!

As shooting was about to begin, there was one more problem--I was too plump. Little Tung Tzu was a poor child in the old society, eating little but doing lots of work. Growing up in the socialist new China, I was not as lean as Tung Tzu. The cameraman said to me: "To play Tung Tzu, you must shed a little weight." How? I heard from adults that giving up meat might make one lose weight. But I liked meat and would feel somewhat miserable without eating meat. What should I do? I must still learn from Tung Tzu! Was Tung Tzu not at first reluctant to join Uncle Wu in a guerrilla war? But he obeyed the Party and followed Uncle Sung to the foot of the hill to get salt for the guerrillas. Later, he went to a rice shop to serve as an "apprentice." He said: "I am a child of the Party." "I do what the Party asks me to do!" I am a child of the Party, too. Like Tung Tzu, I must obey the Party. I must try to reduce my weight! So, during the half year of shooting, I ate no meat at all.

It was hard enough to imitate Tung Tzu's movements, but it was harder still to emulate his feelings! Since I hadn't suffered the way Tung Tzu did, I acted without feelings at first. Take the the first scene for instance. When I met the Red Army uncles for the first time, I only laughed, because I liked them so much that when I saw them I felt happy and wanted to laugh. In the scene "Mother Is Sacrificed," the director and his assistants told me to cry. But I couldn't make myself cry in front of the camera. They said I didn't put myself into the story. Later, they told me stories, helping me again and again to understand little Tung Tzu's mind. After some time, I began to understand Tung Tzu's feelings: If the Red Army had not come to Liuhsi, Tung Tzu would have been beaten to death by Hu Han-san. So, when Uncle Wu of the Red Army broke the rope around my neck, I fell into his arms with tears welling up my eyes, and I could laugh no more. Likewise, in the scene "Mother Is Sacrificed" I knew that had Mother not covered for the masses, many would have been beaten to death by Hu Han-san and his henchmen. Mother was a communist; she was a good mother. Yet she was burned to death by Hu Han-san. How could "I" not feel sad! Countless such good mothers had sacrificed themselves heroically so that we could enjoy a happy life like that of today. When I thought of this, I seemed to have many things to say. When I said, "Mother was a Communist, and she said we mustn't let the masses suffer," tears flooded my eyes and there was hatred in my heart.

Every time a scene was shot, I received a profound class lesson. After the film was finished, I knew even better whom to love and whom to hate, who had given us happiness, and whom we should follow. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of Liuhsi won their liberation, so did Tung Tzu and his family. What happened in Liuhsi happened elsewhere in the country. In the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we little Red soldiers must, like the people of the whole country, resolutely carry out and safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary

line and penetratingly criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line. We mustn't let bad people like Hu Han-san come out again to practice counter-revolutionary restoration.

I must go on learning from Tung Tzu. Since the film was shown, I've received a lot of letters of congratulations. I am an ordinary little Red soldier, and when I have done something that I should do, I have been shown great concern and love by the Party and the people. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, "Study well and make progress every day," I am determined to follow the road taken by Tung Tzu and be a good child of the Party.

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It Is Necessary to Make Technical Innovations in Order to Develop Industry

by

Kung Hsiao-wen (宮效閘)

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Chairman Mao says: "We cannot just take the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace. We must break away from convention and adopt as many advanced techniques as possible in order to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state in not too long a historical period." This directive of Chairman Mao's makes an incisive criticism of the comprador slavish philosophy, the doctrine of crawling at a snail's pace, and the thinking of Chia Kuei [character in a play]--ideas that we can only always crawl behind the science and technology of the West. It has greatly inspired the Chinese working class, scientists and technicians and the people of the whole country with enthusiasm and creativeness, giving a strong impetus to the development of technical innovation.

Unfolding technical innovation is a reliable way to dig up fully the potential of existing enterprises and to develop production with greater, faster, better and more economical results; it is also an effective way to stick to one's own path of industrial development and to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced standards. To persist in revolution and advance along the socialist road in the sphere of production techniques, it is imperative to rely on the masses and mobilize them to carry out technical innovation and technical revolution. Whether or not we pay serious attention to technical innovation and to changing the backward production techniques is one of the important indications of whether or not we adhere to the policy of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, as well as a concrete expression of the acute struggle between two kinds of thinking and two lines in the sphere of production techniques. At present, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the broad masses of workers are imbued with revolutionary ardor. An important task before us now is to develop technical innovation more extensively and intensively, to bring into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses, to push China's socialist construction ahead in big strides, and to further develop the excellent situation in revolution and production.

Very often, some comrades, when talking about increasing production, stretch their hands upward and ask for plants, equipment and manpower. They say: "The size of the hen determines the size of its eggs." To double the value of output, you will have to double the plant, work force and equipment. It seems that without "doubling" these, output cannot be "doubled." This is an ideological obstacle standing in the way of large-scale technical innovation by the masses. To be sure, we cannot say that there is no need to add some more equipment, plant and manpower where needed. But at present there is still quite a large gap between the production level

of some plants and that of advanced units in the same industries. If only these potentials are fully tapped, it may be possible to do more things at less cost or even to do things at no cost. Furthermore, both now and in the future, the State's construction funds will always be limited, and industrial manpower must not and cannot be increased without restraint in isolation from agriculture as the foundation of the national economy. If, once we run into difficulties, we stretch our hands upward and do nothing but "wait for, rely on, and ask for assistance," the result will inevitably be to suppress the socialist activism of the broad masses, and a situation will be brought about in which "the longer we wait, the less determined we will be, the more we rely on assistance, the more lazy we will become, and the more we demand, the less ambitious we will become." In units and departments dominated by such ideas, technical innovation and technical transformation are an empty slogan because the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses are not brought into full play.

When funds, equipment and other things are "increased," does it mean that production will surely be increased? Not at all. The experiences of many units tell us that if the line is wrong, the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance is lacking, and the broad masses are bound hand and foot, even if there is more money and more equipment, output may not necessarily go up; on the contrary, if the line is right, the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses is aroused to the fullest possible extent, and technical innovation is extensively developed, even if manpower and equipment are not increased or are increased a little, production may still develop rapidly. Prior to the great cultural revolution, Shanghai's iron and steel industry made little headway for many years due to the interference of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line. Since the great cultural revolution began, although the number of plants and the labor force have basically remained constant, thanks to the correctness of the line, reliance on the masses in undertaking technical innovation on a large scale and the adoption of the new technique of oxygen blowing for converters, the industry's steel refining capacity is now 75 percent higher than the designed capacity. A 50-ton open-hearth furnace doubles its output following conversion. A 5-ton small electric furnace has continuously increased its loading capacity to reach 15 tons. The city's steel output in 1973 was over 70 percent higher than 1965. This shows that through technical innovation and technical transformation, infinitely vast possibilities have been provided for the development of production. There is no foundation to the views that "the size of the hen determines the size of its eggs" and that production cannot go up without increasing equipment, plant and manpower. At the same time, it also shows that in persisting in reform in the sphere of production techniques and bringing about rapid development of production, the primary problem to solve is still that of ideology and line. We can better solve the problem of whether to carry out reform or stick to the old rules in the sphere of production techniques only if we settle the issue of whether to take the socialist or capitalist road ideologically and politically on the plane of the Party's basic line.

Why have some units not been able to develop technical innovation? Some comrades say: "Here the masses work so hard that if their workload is increased a little, they can discharge it all the same. We can do without

technical innovation." Others say: "We are so busy in production work that we have little time for innovation." This is another ideological obstacle standing in the way of technical innovation. It is good to have the masses work so hard that they are capable of carrying additional burden. However, following the development of China's socialist construction and as production tasks become increasingly heavy, if we do not carry out technical innovation but simply rely on the masses' physical power to fulfill production tasks, this state of affairs cannot last long, and even if we can do so now, we will not be able to carry on in the future. The abundant zeal of the masses is a basic condition for unfolding technical innovation, and we should fully mobilize the masses to engage in technical innovation on a large scale and fulfill production tasks with still better results. But is it true that we cannot carry out innovation in view of the heavy production tasks? The answer is no. Pressure can be turned into a motive force. Many major items of technical innovation were "forced out" during times when production tasks were very heavy. The workers of many units with relatively heavy production tasks say: "The work for three persons can be done by two, leaving the other one to make technical innovation." Not only has technical innovation effectively propelled current production, but the technical level of production has also been considerably enhanced. Therefore, the truth is, not that innovation cannot be engaged in because of heavy production tasks, but that, on the contrary, there is a greater need to develop technical innovation and make production and technical innovation complement each other. Technical innovation is an important means of developing production, and under all circumstances we must persist in making technical innovation. Ideas which stress the presence of difficulties and which do not impose exacting demands on work are actually passive, conservative ideas.

Chairman Mao says: "Mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level." Whether we are content with the present conditions or insist on making changes reflects two different kinds of mentality. Marxists are of the view that in socialist society, where exist classes and class struggle, the struggle for production, like all other revolutionary struggles, develops in the midst of contradictions and conflicts. Today our technical level of production is much higher than that existed before the great cultural revolution, but it has not emerged spontaneously and naturally. It is a result of the defeat of the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a result of the masses displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle, and a result of overcoming one difficulty after another and of continually changing production conditions. In a word, it has come about through struggle. There would be no development without change. This was so in the past, is so now and will always be so in the future. Following the development of production, new contradictions will appear and need to be solved. Conservatism will land us nowhere. The revisionists think that we can only crawl behind others in the development of industry and science and technology. In their minds they see only the bourgeoisie of the West but not the proletariat of the East. They deny the presence of classes and class struggle in socialist society. They suppress the newborn things on the industrial, scientific and technological fronts. Being conservative-minded, they are against reform; implicitly, they intend to remain stagnant, go backward, and restore the old scheme of things. Struggle is protracted on this issue.

In history, the Legalists, representing the newly emerging class, stood for progress and demanded reform, hoisting the banner "Learn not from ancient things but adapt ourselves to prevailing circumstance." They violently attacked the decadent and backward relations of production. On the basis of the huge strength of the laboring people in pushing history forward, they promoted the reform of production techniques and the development of the productive forces. On the other hand, the Confucian doctrine that "there is nothing wrong in imitating things ancient and nothing evil to follow propriety" was a spiritual yoke around the necks of the laboring people, preventing them from changing the production conditions. That Lin Piao imitated Confucius in pushing the counter-revolutionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and propagated the "theory of Heavenly will" and the "theory of having reached the limit" also suited the needs of the overthrown exploiting classes in seeking restoration and regression. Therefore, in the area of production techniques, on the question of whether to advance or retreat, to change or stick to old things, there has always been an acute struggle between two different ideological lines. The proletariat means to change the old world and old things and to struggle against the reactionary forces representing the exploiting classes and their influence in both the ideological and political fields. As for production techniques, it must struggle against all ideas of sticking to the old rules and procedures and ideas of cowards and sluggards devoid of great ambitions, and it must boldly carry out reform and create something new. In the standard accessories manufacturing industry in Shanghai, there are many small plants with poor equipment but heavy tasks. In the past people used to think that technical innovation was impossible under such conditions. But the workers said, "We are not afraid of difficulties, but we must not be lazy. We are not afraid of poor conditions, but we must have ambitions." Breaking away from conservative thinking, they changed things boldly. Since the great cultural revolution, they have effected several reforms without using the State's capital construction funds, and now in the whole industry 90 percent of its machine tools have been made semi-automatic or fully automatic, a group of automatic combination machine tools up to the advanced world standard has also been produced. Today, although the work force in the industry has been cut 18 percent, the value of output has more than doubled. It can be seen that the problem does not lie in whether we are capable of change or in whether there are difficulties. So long as people's thinking is freed from the bondage of traditional habits, it is possible to create a new world of technical innovation, to discover, invent and create something, and to forge ahead.

There are also some comrades who hold that "in making technical innovation, we must present a decent appearance." By this they mean pursuit of bigness and foreign standards. In their eyes, we should copy from "foreign books" and do those things that have been done by foreigners. They look down upon all innovations and creations emerging from among the broad masses, describing them as "indecent," "irregular" and "unreliable." To them, technical innovations could only be based on foreign patterns. But this would only strangle the initiative of the masses to innovate and create and pour cold water on them. To develop technical innovation extensively, we must overcome such ideas of blindly worshipping things foreign, underestimating oneself and looking down upon the masses.

Is it true that innovations and creations produced by the masses with simple and indigneous methods are "irregular" and "unreliable?" Certainly not. They are produced in light of the actual needs of developing production and of the rich and practical experiences of production and in accordance with local conditions. They are inexpensive and can be used quickly and more effectively. Moreover, they can be popularized more easily in production. They are the fruits of collective wisdom and experiences of the broad masses and are products of self-reliance and hard struggle. A host of facts show that these innovations and creations of the masses can be continuously improved and extended to changing the whole course of industrial procedures--from the improvement and development of a machine part to the renewal of a complete set of equipment, from the mechanization and automation of a work process to the formation of an automatic production line, leading to the fundamental change in the technical features of production in an enterprise or the entire industry. In this connection, many items have caught up with or surpassed the world's advanced standards. They are not imitations, but are completely Chinese in pattern and technical method. This will open up a path for developing science and technology with greater, faster, better and more economical results in accordance with Chinese conditions. Adopting simple and indigenous methods not only will not reject foreign methods but will closely integrate the two. It will be possible to "take on useful things, reject the useless, and increase those things unique to us," to make foreign things serve China and make them play a greater and better role. Before the great cultural revolution, the woolen garment industry in Shanghai, under the interference of the revisionist line, relied on a few persons in working on automation behind closed doors, and though several years had elapsed, results had not been fruitful. Last year, starting from the practical needs of production, two young electricians of a woolen garment mill, using simple methods and spending only 72 yuan, created a "photo-electric control box," thereby making four procedures automatic. Being inexpensive and effective, this device, highly welcomed by the workers, was rapidly adapted to 1,500 looms in the whole industry in half a year, raising productivity by over 15 percent. Since the beginning of this year, this simple procedural control device has been gradually popularized and used in 20 industries in the city, including steel rolling, forging and pressing, metal finishing, rubber, etc. Such examples vividly show that innovations and creations produced by the masses by simple and indigenous methods have great vitality. This also means that more ways can be found for technical innovation and technical transformation. The workers have rightly said: "We must stick to such simple and indigenous methods." The reason is that this is compatible with the objective law of technical development from the low to a higher level, from quantitative to qualitative change. Simplicity exists in comparison with complexity. In the course of technical development, this pair of opposites will always exist and will transform into each other under given conditions. Under present circumstances, we must adopt simple and indigenous methods, but even in the future when the technical conditions of production will have become better, we still will have to do the same, and this will still be so after ten thousand years. But the "simple and indigenous methods" then will be more advanced than they are now.

Of course, in technical innovations, we must respect the objective laws, be mindful of practical results, and pay attention to combining the revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude. Technical innovation is

an arduous task and often involves many aspects of production and scientific research. To do things without strictly following the objective law will get us nowhere. The experiences of many units which have done well in technical innovation show that in the course of technical innovation, we must not only fully arouse the masses and pay attention to summing up their advanced experiences, but also attach importance to investigations and study and conducting repeated scientific experiments. Thus we can have fewer detours and achieve more substantial results in a relatively short period.

"Leaders must walk in front of the movement, and not behind it." At present, driven by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, technical innovation of a popular nature is developing in many industrial departments. The broad masses urgently call for harder work and bigger changes. Leading cadres at various levels on the economic front should keep pace with the masses and energetically lead them to advance. They must better organize the activism of the broad masses, take the initiative to adjust those parts of the production relations which are incompatible with the development of the productive forces, and be good at using the positive role of the superstructure to promote a more extensive and intensive development of technical innovations. Chairman Mao points out, "The Chinese people should have long-range plans. They must strive within the next several decades to change China's backward features in the economic, scientific and cultural fields and rapidly attain the advanced standards of the world." All those people who warmly love the socialist new China and all those revolutionaries who adhere to Chairman Mao's guideline of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our hands and relying on our own efforts and who firmly oppose the line of national betrayal followed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao ardently support this directive of Chairman Mao's. After several five-year plans for construction, China's industrial base has been continuously strengthened and the conditions for technical innovation have become much more favorable than they were at any time of the past. So long as we set ourselves lofty goals and work hard and realistically in line with the demands of the general line of "going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results," we will surely be able to raise our technical level of production still higher. All industrial departments must set their own long-range plans, make clear the orientation and objectives for technical innovation and technical transformation in the future. With an eye to the practical conditions of current development of production, they should strive to strengthen the weak links in production, think ahead, and grasp the present. They must strive to bring about a small change in production techniques every year and a major change once every several years. They must go on changing and advancing. At the same time, they must ardently support the masses in creating new things, energetically promote the advanced, sum up and popularize advanced experience and seriously consolidate and improve technical innovation made, so that the mass technical innovation movement can develop wave after wave in a correct direction. Let us strive to win still greater victories in China's socialist construction.

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The Masses of Workers Must Be Relied on to Make Technical Innovations

by

the Party Committee of Peking No. 1 Machine Tools Plant

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

Ours is an old plant producing milling machines. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, due to interference by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, [annual] output hovered around a thousand pieces. During the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the broad masses of workers conscientiously implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and penetratingly criticized the revisionist lines pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, thereby steadily raising their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle and further displaying their enthusiasm and creativeness for socialism. The whole plant fought in unity and with surging vigor. The excellent situation of the revolution promoted the development of production. In 1969 the designed capacity was surpassed for the first time. In 1970 output was double. Compared with the highest record before the great cultural revolution, last year's output increased by 3.2 times. The output of big machine tools increased by eight times. The output value rose by 3.9 times, and labor productivity throughout the plant grew by 2.2 times.

Why has there been such a tremendous change in the production of our plant? The main reason is that for the past few years we have taken the Party's basic line as the key link, conscientiously implemented the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," and whole-heartedly relied on the working class to conscientiously grasp technical innovation and technical reform, bringing about a sustained development of production.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The mass movement is necessary in doing any work. It won't do without the mass movement." During the struggle for production and the movement for technical innovation, whether we wholeheartedly rely on the working class to launch a mass movement in a big way or just rely on a few people alone to work quietly or even practice "management by specialists", is an important problem in the struggle between the two lines and two kinds of ideology. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, due to interference by the revisionist line, the workers had to go through more than 20 procedures before they could make an innovation. Even if they wanted to drill a hole on a machine, they had to obtain approval from the chief mechanic. This suppressed the enthusiasm of the masses. Since the great cultural revolution began, we have perseveringly carried out revolutionary mass criticism, eliminated "management by specialists" and established the idea of relying on the workers to run an enterprise. We broke down the "slavish comprador philosophy" and established the policy of "relying on our own efforts." We did away with the practice of "laying emphasis on things big and modern" and established the method of "integrating indigenous and foreign methods." This further liberated thinking and aroused the inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism among the masses. The broad masses, daring to think, speak and act, took the

initiative to look for weak links in production and study production problems. They employed all possible means to unearth the potential in the enterprise, thereby promoting the brisk development of technical innovations. From 1969 to last September, 3,600 technical innovations were made. These included 482 pieces of equipment made by our own efforts. As a result, the degree of mechanization of heat treatment rose greatly. Such new techniques as replacing planing by milling were extensively adopted in cold processing. A number of machines and work processes were automated or streamlined. This opened the way to make still more use of production potentials and push production up steadily. In making technical innovations, not only have the various production departments extensively carried out mass movement and doubled their production capacity, but even the cleaners and car drivers of auxiliary departments have also joined in the fray. In less than six months after they entered our plant, some apprentices made an automatic weighing device used in powder metallurgy. Capital construction workers produced pre-stressed hollow flooring boards; workers preparing materials formulated a streamline for crushing iron; the maintenance workers built a hoisting machine rising to 36 meters high; the cooks devised machines for mincing meat and chopping vegetables, and so on and so forth. The mass movement of technical innovation gave rise to a situation in which flowers were in full bloom.

The first problem encountered in conducting technical innovation is how to handle well the relationship between innovation and production. There are two different views. One holds that since production tasks are heavy and time presses it is difficult to make technical innovations; the other states that "honing the chopper should not delay the work of the woodcutter" and that the more work there is, the greater need to conduct technical innovation. We endorsed the latter attitude and rejected the former. This is because people holding the former attitude see only matter and not man, and do not really understand the inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism among the masses. In fact, the busier the tasks, the more clearly we can see the production problems and the need for technical innovations will be greater. The masses are the most intelligent and richest in practical experience; they know most clearly where innovation is needed the most, how innovation should be conducted and how the fruits of innovation should be developed. Once aroused, the masses can find the ways and means. Once innovations are made, it is possible to overcome weak links and push production a step further. Before the great cultural revolution, processing of big parts of the medium-sized milling machine in our plant used to pose a problem in production, with the monthly output at something over 100 pieces. It was a weak link in further increasing output. In 1970, displaying the revolutionary spirit of "not bending at the waist even when overwhelmed by Mount T'ai," the workers of the No. 1 processing workshop renovated the technological processes and tools and improved the big and modern equipment. They achieved such innovations as substituting milling for planing. Without increasing manpower and equipment, 500 big parts of medium-sized milling machines were processed monthly. With this unit taking the initiative, we mobilized other units to follow suit, with the advanced spurring on the backward and one link pushing another. In this way, we grasped one point and set the whole in motion, thereby giving an impetus to the technical innovation and technical reform throughout the plant and insuring a sustained development of production.

Aroused, the masses have one after another thrown themselves into the battle of technical innovation. But, the realization of technical innovation calls for certain conditions. Whether we should wait for others to create the conditions for us or learn from the revolutionary spirit of Tach'ing and try our best to create conditions for ourselves where these conditions are lacking is a problem we must solve in the course of technical innovations. In our opinion, we must have the essential conditions and must also actively seek aid from the outside, but, in order to improve production technology, we must first of all rely on the masses to make revolution. The masses of workers have said rightly: "If we only ask for aid and wait for it, we will achieve nothing. If we dare to think and act, we will succeed." We must take the initiative to create and improve conditions.

In order to implement the correct policy of "relying on our own efforts" all the way down to the primary levels, we must roundly criticize the "slavish comprador philosophy" and the "mentality of trailing behind at a snail's pace." We must firmly believe that the masses of workers have boundless creative power, and give the masses a free hand and rely on them to solve problems. When materials are lacking, we should tap the potential in the enterprise, take inventory of its warehouses, make full use of the surplus or discarded materials, or use the materials saved by product improvements to make innovations. When a greater plant is needed, we should expand the existing plant and use every available space appropriately. When spare parts are not enough, we will organize coordination and cooperation inside and outside the plant and arrange mutual adjustment and assistance. When equipment is strained, we will make use of simple and indigenous means or work on Sundays or at night. To increase the technical forces, technicians are trained in the course of practice. As for expenditures, we uphold the principle of doing more things at lesser cost and make careful calculations and rational arrangements. In the wood pattern section hand tools were mostly used in the past. As output and variety of products rose, the number of wooden patterns mode could not meet the needs of production. The workers of the section, overcoming the past practice of using only wood and learning in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, successively produced, with the help of fraternal units, 26 pieces of equipment including a big carpenter's gantry milling cutter and machine for planing and jointing and cutting of ends without adding any manpower. With a view to supporting the masses in technical innovations, we ask the related offices to supply as much material as is needed for technical innovations and to actively create the conditions for the mass movement of technical innovation. This has enabled the broad masses to keep an abundance of political enthusiasm and positively participate in technical innovations. Over the past years, some devices have been either renovated or created, the innovation movement has grown from a small to a large scale, the contingent of technicians has turned from weak to strong. The mass movement of technical innovation is developing with each wave rising higher than the other before it.

The course of technical innovation and technical reform is one of changing the old production skills and adopting new ones, manifesting the wisdom and resources of the broad masses as well as their enthusiasm for socialism. But no newborn thing grows smoothly; it has to go through

twists and turns. Some technical innovations made by the masses proved successful while others failed. Some were made smoothly; others, only after many difficulties were overcome. Some produced good results, others produced unsatisfactory results at the beginning or even created many new problems. It is not a scientific attitude to demand that an innovation succeeds at a single attempt and that no setback should be permitted. For to do so will invariably dampen newborn things and suppress the development of the mass movement of technical innovation. In the struggle between the new and the old, between reform and conservatism and between materialist dialectics and metaphysics, the leadership must take a clearcut attitude and actively support the initiative of the masses before the development of the mass movement of technical innovation can be promoted. In the past, the main axle of our universal milling machines used to be made of steel. The workers suggested that nodular cast iron be used to save rolled steel. We supported their suggestion. But later some people wavered when the quality of the axles was not stable at the beginning. We held that the use of new material was correct and we should encourage the workers. The process of testing and consolidating the innovation had not been completed. Therefore we organized workers and technicians to tackle the problem with the help of research institutes. We finally achieved satisfactory results after repeated experiments. This saves the plant 150 tons of rolled steel annually. In order to raise the efficiency of precision casting, workers of No. 2 processing workshop made a wax press in 1971 to replace manual labor, but it proved a failure. In 1973, they designed and made a horizontal wax press, and also failed. At that moment, some people poured cold water on them, saying that they had wasted their time. We hold that we can gain experience through practice and we have to pay something in making technical innovations. It is important to practice economy and combat waste in building socialism, but we cannot take what mass technical innovations cost as "waste" and oppose this process. When talking about socialist economic construction as a whole, Chairman Mao points out: "We have to pay the cost by all means. We just hope that this cost will not be so high as that paid during the revolutionary period." This is true with respect to the whole as well as the part. It is impossible to demand that innovation cost nothing, but we should strive to keep the costs down. The key question is to support the initiative of the masses. Our leadership assumes the responsibility and encourages the masses to sum up experience and make innovations. In 1974, an automatic wax press with enough room for 12 workers was successfully made, raising the production efficiency by three times.

After the mass movement for technical innovation has been unfolded, an important problem is how to keep it going steadily. Our understanding of the problem is this: strengthen Party leadership, encourage "three-in-one" technical innovation groups at all levels, and combine mass technical innovations with efforts by professionals. This brings into full play various forces and enhances their enthusiasm, and makes for the summing up of experience of the masses and the advance from scattered technical innovations to the technical transformation of the entire enterprise as a whole. It also helps train technical innovators. After summing up the experience of the masses, the "three-in-one" innovation group of the assembly workshop has since 1969 drawn up an overall plan and made 21 pieces of special equipment

including the guided grinding mill. As a result, all the 59 surfaces of the universal milling machine requiring precision processing are grinded, planed and milled mechanically, instead of being scraped and polished manually. Labor intensity of labor has since dropped and efficiency boosted by 3-4 times.

Practice makes us understand that whether or not we wholeheartedly rely on the working class to carry out technical innovation and technical transformation in a big way is a problem of ideological and political line. "The line is the key link; once it is grasped everything falls into place." Provided we firmly and unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, deep-going and sustained manner, conscientiously observe the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," and wholeheartedly rely on the working class in carrying out technical innovation and technical transformation, we shall definitely be able to develop production more quickly and make new contributions toward the cause of socialist construction.

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A New Factory Should Make Technical Innovations as Well

by

the Party Committee of Tientsin Municipal No. 1
Petrochemical Plant

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

Our plant was built and put into operation in 1970. Over the past four years, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our plant has relied on the working class in achieving more than 150 technical innovations on new equipment, with its annual oil-refining capacity increasing to 450,000 tons from its designed capacity of 300,000 tons. This year, propelled by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, another 12 major technical innovations have been made, raising its oil-refining capacity to 600,000 tons and doubling the output. The quality of products has improved steadily and the number of products increased to eleven from five in the last four years. Its funds accumulated for the State are enough for building four oil-refining plants the size of our plant. We understand that, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers are bursting forth with an abundance of enthusiasm for socialism. This is a huge force in propelling the rapid development of technical innovation. The leadership of our enterprise must continue to adhere to a correct ideological and political line, uphold the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," organize even more properly the revolutionary vigor and resources of the masses, and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing socialist production.

The technical innovation in our plant has developed amid the struggle between the two kinds of ideology and two lines.

When the constant pressure-reduction oil-refining installation was put into operation in 1970, it reached its designed capacity in the same year. At that time, a question confronted us: Should we stop at 300,000 tons or break through the barrier of the designed capacity? Most comrades held that we should continue to march forward, produce more oil through technical innovations, and make greater contributions to the State. But there were also some comrades who suggested that we wait for a few more years before making technical innovations because new installations and new equipment had just been put into operation and the new technological processes had just been mastered. To achieve unity of views, we organized one and all to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's writings. Chairman Mao points out: "In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong." This teaching of Chairman Mao's scientifically generalizes the objective laws governing the development of production struggle and scientific experiment, points to the correct attitude people should adopt,

and criticizes various erroneous notions. It is the only correct idea guiding us to make technical innovations and effect technical reform.

Is it true that new equipment can't be changed? Is it true that it is not necessary to make technical innovations? The answer is no. Through study and discussion, everyone has come to understand that one should look at a piece of new equipment from the viewpoint of development. Equipment, as other things in the world, is constantly developing and changing. At all times, the new and the old are opposite to each other; without change, there is no way to distinguish between the new and the old. In this sense, what was new yesterday is old today, and what is new today will become old tomorrow. The continuous improvement of new equipment is an objective requirement of the development of production. To think that a piece of new equipment needs no innovation or reform and cannot develop any further is a metaphysical view running counter to the laws of development of things. In fact, it is precisely in the course of continuing technical innovations that the equipment of our plant has been put to effective use. It is recalled that in the initial period after the plant was built, many local alterations had been made in its original design. For instance, the meter workers had modified the design of the signal cables of the air pressure station, workers of the pumping room had changed the design of the sewage pipes, etc. Some workshops renovated such equipment such as the heating furnace not long after they were put into operation. The heating furnace had two different fuel systems. One was used simultaneously with the steam boiler, so that they affected each other and were difficult to operate. The other used fuel oil at the bottom of the pressure-reduction tower, but because the level of oil was unstable and the pump at the bottom would easily drain the oil, the fire of the furnace might go out, causing considerable fluctuation in operation. Later, the technological process was improved. An independent fuel system was developed. This stabilized the operation, greatly increased the efficiency of the equipment, and raised the recoverage of refined oil. These pieces of equipment after they were improved proved more practical than they were originally designed, satisfying more fully the demand for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

These facts have enlightened everyone in no small measure, demonstrating that new equipment needs renovation and can be entirely renovated. Provided we see things clearly from the ideological and political line, combine the great ambition of daring to make innovations with the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, break with fetishes and superstitions, liberate our minds, and avoid having a biased view of new equipment, we shall be able to discover the weak links in new equipment hindering the development of production and to go on making technical innovations.

In the field of technical innovation and technical reform, we must rely on the working class. Our plant has few old workers but many new workers. It is very important to fully develop the young workers' wisdom and strength and organize them to take an active part in technical innovation and technical reform. However, some comrades think: "The young workers are good already if they do their jobs well. It is too much to expect them to make technical innovations." This view is wrong. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism." In looking at young workers,

we must first take this fact into consideration. If we fail to see this but simply stress their inexperience and technical incompetence and do not believe that they are capable of making technical innovations, this is not realistic. Take the case of our plant. In its early days, it had organized the young workers and sent them to Tach'ing to learn in practice. Educated in the Tach'ing spirit, they were subsequently made to take part in the arduous labor of building the plant. Led by old workers, they installed almost all the meters and pumps. Not only did they experience the difficulties in founding an enterprise, but they also acquired some understanding of the performance of the new equipment. After the plant was put into operation, they worked all day long at their production posts and gained some production experience. While firmly grasping the line education, the Party committee also gave them the necessary technical education. As they are willing to learn, they have made very fast progress in a couple of years and become a fresh force in revolution and production.

In the course of carrying out technical innovation and technical reform, young workers are rich in creativity, daring to think and act. They have put forward many good proposals for technical innovation, and made a great deal of innovations in technology and equipment. With the help of old workers, two young women workers of the meter workshop, after overcoming the difficulties caused by lack of technical data, completed the task of laying the lines of the meters panel in the water pond. Compared with the panel made by the Soviet revisionists, the meter panel installed by them saved material, was nice-looking and practical. In the asphalt section under the oil products workshop, 90 percent of the workers are young people graduated from junior middle schools in 1970. Work in this section was formerly done by hand, and production efficiency was rather low. In close cooperation with the mechanics, they changed the process of single-flask oxidation into that of double-flask continuous oxidation, and mechanized loading of asphalt. As a result, annual output of asphalt increased to 25,000 tons from the designed capacity of 7,000 tons. In the course of renovating equipment, young workers have advanced a great many technical proposals and made positive contributions. On the basis of improving the process of alkaline washing of diesel oil by young workers of the refining workshop, young workers of the oil products workshop, through repeated experiments, successfully used the method of accelerating precipitation by blast to basically solve the problem of transparency of diesel oil. Until then, light diesel oil did not pass the test and was not allowed to leave the plant after going through a course of precipitation in a can for more than 20 days. Now, it is allowed to leave the plant after one or two days of precipitation at most. The once passive situation in production has been reversed.

Technical innovation and technical reform involve complicated and arduous labor, especially so for the innovation and reform of new processes and equipment. To do this job well, we must learn to apply, and be good in applying, materialist dialectics in analyzing and solving contradictions.

When we began working on technical innovation and technical reform, the first problem we met was this: Where to start with? We learned from practice that it was necessary to concentrate forces on reforming the key parts and key processes. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In studying any

complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved." This is also true for technical innovation and reform. In every set of equipment and every technological process there invariably exist many weak links, one of which has to be the principal one. By grasping this principal contradiction, it is possible to set in motion the reform of the whole equipment and whole technological process and achieve remarkable results. For instance, when we experimented on increasing the volume of refining in 1971, the new equipment presented many problems. Some were overloaded, some were without sufficient heat supply, certain processing procedures could not be followed in time, etc. But what was the principal problem that must be solved first? The workers, cadres and technicians of the plant undertook a joint study and analysis, whereupon they found the principal contradiction: the controllable temperature of the preliminary distillation tower was low and the load of the constant pressure furnace was too heavy. So, we directed our main attack on this principal contradiction. We worked with concerted efforts, pooling our ideas together. We made corresponding change in the technological process, reduced the load of the constant pressure furnace and solved the problem of heat supply. After this innovation, the output of the preliminary distillation tower was double, and the daily quantity of crude oil processed rose by more than 100 tons.

Did the solution of this principal contradiction mean that everything was in order and the task of technical innovation and reform had been accomplished? No, not at all. Contradictions permeat the whole course of development of a thing. When the old contradictions are resolved, new ones will emerge. A new reform process begins when the old reform process has ended. After we had improved the constant pressure furnace in 1971, we discovered that the pressure-reduction furnace became an obstacle to further increasing production. Thereupon, we started reforming the pressure-reduction furnace and made innovation and adjustment of the system and installation. Thanks to sustained efforts to make innovation and reform, the oil-refining capacity rose by 50 percent. At this moment, some people said that since the heat source was used to the limit and the potential was fully tapped, output could not be increased any further. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, everyone of us smashed the resistance of this thinking and continued to work vigorously to adjust the cooling system, improve the structure of the refining tower and unearth heat resources. As a result, the oil-refining capacity further rose to 600,000 tons from 450,000 tons.

Facts have made us see clearly this truth: the contradiction in a thing is the fundamental factor propelling its development. At all times contradictions arise out of equipment and technological processes, accounting for differences in efficiency and imbalance. Therefore there is no limit to innovation of equipment and technical reform, and there are broad prospects for a new factory to make technical innovations. Spurred on by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we are determined to unite with the workers of the whole plant to do a still better job of technical innovation and technical reform so as to raise the oil-refining capacity to a new level and make new contributions to the socialist cause.

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Develop New Technology Through Our Own Efforts

- Investigation report on Chungkuo Electrical Appliance Plant, Shanghai

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

The Chungkuo Electrical Appliance Plant in Shanghai is a factory that specializes in the production of enamelled copper wire. Driven by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the masses of workers perseveringly uphold the policy of "maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our hands, relying on own efforts, and building the country through diligence and frugality." They have not asked for state investments, nor have they relied on the state in building their plant and equipment. Making do what they have, they work with their own hands and carry out technical innovation. Since last March, with the help of more than 20 fraternal factories, institutions of higher learning and research units, they have designed and manufactured 15 catalytic combustion enamelled machines, converting their enamelling workshop into a new one using new techniques and new equipment. Catalytic combustion enamelling is a new technique developed abroad in the 1960s. The new equipment made by this plant characteristically has many layers and many bobbins and operates at high speed, thus meeting the demand for greater, faster, better and more economical results. The operation of this new workshop will further double the output of enamelled wire which has grown three times that before the great cultural revolution. Quality will improve further and electricity consumption will drop by over 60 percent. After adoption of the new technique, harmful exhaust produced in the course of production of enamelled wire may also be recovered for combustion, thereby solving the problem of disposal of "three wastes" which has long remained unsettled. Some people once calculated that designing a new-type enamelling machine alone would take half a year and converting a workshop would take at least three to four years. But this plant set up a new workshop in only half a year. This shows that the great policy of relying on our own efforts laid down by Chairman Mao is most capable of liberating people's thinking, and bringing into full play the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses in building socialism. Once they have mastered the policy of self-reliance, they will rapidly change the technical aspects of production through technical innovation, performing one miracle after another.

Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius Encourages the Spirit of Self-Reliance

The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, which is a deep-going socialist revolution in the spheres of the superstructure, have opened up a broad path for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing socialist production. To criticize and eliminate the influence of such revisionist ideas as the comprador slavish philosophy and the mentality of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and to establish and develop the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle--this will provide a powerful motive force for making technical innovations.

Enamelled wire is an indispensable material in mechanical-electrical and instrument industries. It is called "blood vessels of electric motors" and "nerves of meters." Formerly the enamelling machine was used to put insulating lacquer on copper wire and the lacquer was then dried with electrical heat. Consuming a large amount of electricity, it was called an "electric tiger." When the lacquer was being dried, the solvent would release a large quantity of benzene and phenol and other poisonous gases, contaminating the environment. In the past, the workers had called for reforming the technique and tested and devised new techniques and new equipment for catalytic combustion. But, under the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, only a few technical specialists were relied upon in checking the data and making calculations behind closed doors, and nothing fruitful was achieved. Since the great cultural revolution, in the wake of the rapid development of industrial production and scientific research in our country, not only has the demand for enamelled copper wire grown enormously, but better quality and greater variety have also been called for. However, as output and variety rose, consumption of electricity also increased by a big margin and more poisonous gases were released. This became an acute contradiction in the course of developing production. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, the workers, after criticizing Lin Piao's crimes in restoring capitalism, proposed to tackle the new technique of making catalytic combustion enamelling--this time with success. Moreover, a three-in-one experimental group with workers as the mainstay was formed. At the beginning, some people did not believe that the workers could make such an advanced enamelling machine, and were interested only in importing equipment from foreign countries. Meanwhile, some leading cadres of the plant were also worried lest such a complicated technique could not be mastered. They thought that since output had already been increased several times after the great cultural revolution and attained the advanced level, the present state of affairs was quite satisfactory, so they did not freely mobilize the masses to make technical innovations quickly.

The broad masses called for technical innovations, but the revisionist influence of the comprador slavish philosophy posed a serious obstacle. Ideas of being content with the status quo and doing nothing also bound the masses hand and foot. Only by arming the masses with the idea of self-reliance could we make them see their own strength and smash all spiritual fetters. After the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was unfolded, the workers assiduously studied the works by Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao's works, criticized the comprador slavish philosophy and the mentality of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and saw more clearly the reactionary essence of the revisionist line pushed by Lin Piao, thereby greatly raising their consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They heard that some capitalist countries not only imposed an embargo on and monopolized new techniques, but also tried to restrict us by high prices and patent rights. The cost of importing one catalytic combustion enamelling machine would amount to half of the fixed assets of this plant. Filled with indignation, they firmly indicated: the Chinese working class, having high aspirations and capabilities, will surely rely on their own efforts in making technical innovations and produce machines to glorify the socialist mother country. In the course of study and criticism, they also looked back to the past of this plant, summed up its achievements in perseveringly adhering to the policy of self-reliance, and roundly criticized the comprador slavish philosophy. This plant was set up by amalgamating

17 small factories. At first, production of enamelled copper wire was a manual process. During the 1958 big leap forward, the workers carried out large-scale technical transformation for the first time, freed from the practice of imitating foreign equipment. They made 121 simple wire drawing machines and enamelling machines complete with parts. They called these "leap-forward machines." They said: "Our electrical plant uses indigenous equipment of various sizes, and the indigenous methods are just as good." They added: "In the past, we upheld the policy of self-reliance and changed the backward outlook of production. Through the great cultural revolution, our consciousness of the two-line struggle has been enhanced and the material conditions have improved. We should now all the more adhere to the policy of self-reliance, master the newest techniques, catch up with and surpass the world's advanced standards." They summed up this fundamental experience: Being content with the present conditions, fearing hardship and being conservative-minded, having blind faith in foreigners, and practicing the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace--this will destroy the aspirations of our working class. Only by working with our own hands and arming ourselves with new techniques and new equipment can we greatly boost the spirit of the working class. Through study and criticism, the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance has been greatly promoted and the confidence in making technical innovations enhanced.

Courageously Blaze the Trail and Create Something New; Take Our Own Road in Developing Industry

Every new technique invariably develops during the practice of production. It is only by depending on our practice that we can understand and master its law of development. Do we dare to blaze the trail and create something new? This is an important question bearing on whether we can implement the spirit of self-reliance in technical innovation activities and bring its powerful role into play.

A catalytic combustion enamelling machine comprises two interrelated parts--catalytic combustion and circulation of hot air. The catalyst is used to quicken the combustion of large amounts of organic solvent released by the insulating lacquer; at the same time, the huge heat energy generated in the course of combustion is used to dry the enamelled wire through the circulatory system. This not only saves electricity, but, through combustion, turns the harmful gases into poisonless water and carbon dioxide, thus preventing pollution. But how should catalysis and combustion be conducted? How should the heat energy be recovered after combustion and sent back into the enamelled drying oven so as to produce high-quality enamelled copper wire? This involves a series of rather complicated technical problems. Some people who do not believe in their own strength and have blind faith in things foreign are frightened into inaction. But workers of Chungkuo Electrical Appliance Plant think that since the law governing the technique of catalytic combustion exists objectively, it can be mastered if we engage in repeated practice and continue to sum up experience. They started on a modest scale and made a prototype for experiment. After 86 tests, they finally overcame the difficulties and stripped this new technique of its mystery. For instance, the catalytic combustion zone is an important component part of the catalytic combustion enamelling machine. During tests on the prototype, combustion in the catalytic zone went on for

a short while and then ceased and the poisonous gases came out from the outlet. How was this problem to be solved? At first, they used the air blower to seal off the outlet, so as to drive back the smoke. But the more they tried to drive back the smoke, the more smoke came out. They were undaunted. After summing up the experience, they started again. They found from Chairman Mao's works the key to the secret of catalystic combustion. Chairman Mao in his article "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" points out: "It often happens that only by loss can loss be avoided; this is the principle of 'Give in order to take.'" This dialectical thinking enlightened the workers. To prevent smoke from emitting, you can't drive it back, you must "let it go." Combustion is the reaction of oxidation and needs fresh air. They removed the air blower from the outlet and enlarged the air volume of the air blower at the inlet, so there was more fresh air in the catalytic zone and combustion became stronger and stronger, with the poisonous gases practically burned away. Naturally, no smoke would come out. Thus, the workers, through the process of "practice, knowledge, practice again and knowledge again," eventually mastered this new technique step by step.

Other countries have advanced techniques, and so have we. In developing new techniques, we must start from the practice of production, sum up our own practical experience, create new techniques and new equipment of the Chinese type, and strive to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced standards. The catalytic combustion enamelling machine trial made by Chungkuo Electrical Appliance Plant at first comprised two layers of drying boxes and 16 bobbins, and its production efficiency was not high. But the electrical-heating enamelling machine created by this plant during the big leap forward consisted of seven layers of drying boxes and 50-60 bobbins, and was rather efficient. Would it be possible to integrate the new techniques of catalytic combustion with their past advanced techniques and produced a catalytic combustion enamelling machine having seven layers of drying boxes and 50 bobbins? At that time, some people, blowing a gust of cold wind, said that since such a machine had not existed abroad, it was just a fantasy to want to produce one involving such complicated techniques and high demands. The workers answered: We should have what other countries have, and we should also have what they do not have; this alone is what we mean by independence and self-reliance. At the suggestion of the workers, the Party general branch called a meeting attended by several dozen workers, cadres and technicians, which lasted three days and nights discussing technical plans. Many ideas were proposed at the meeting. With the collective wisdom and strength of the broad masses developed technical problems were solved one by one. A catalytic combustion enamelling machine was completed. At present, the vertical catalytic combustion enamelling machine produced abroad, which is described as an advanced model, is structurally very complicated and looks very clumsy. The workers of Chungkuo Electrical Appliance Plant have taken a different road. They used a new method of cooling, greatly simplified the structure of the machine, using only five electric motors, three air blowers and four valves. To make a vertical catalytic combustion enamelling machine based on foreign patterns and specification of material would cost 200,000-300,000 yuan. But it has cost Chungkuo Electrical Appliance Plant only a little over 40,000 yuan to make a similar machine, in conformity with the principle

of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

To develop new techniques self-reliantly, one must also take account of one's home material resources. Catalyst is a key material for the catalytic combustion enamelling machine. The foreign countries use platinum and other precious metals, which are very costly. If such catalyst were used, the machine could hardly be popularized even if was successfully made. The workers of this plant were determined to implement the spirit of self-reliance to the end and not to carry out a revolution in a half-baked way. They sought advice everywhere and carried out all kinds of experiments. They found a new basic catalyst, which was in rich supply in our country and was very cheap. With respect to use of material, the workers also broke away from foreign convention. Because of the high temperature, stainless steel is used abroad in making this kind of equipment. After survey and analysis, workers of Chungkuo Electrical Appliance Plant, apart from using stainless steel in the catalytic zone, used ordinary steel in all other parts and still met the technical requirements. The quantity of stainless steel used is only one-sixth to one-eighth of that used in foreign countries. This has created favorable conditions for extending these new techniques. All these examples show that the broad masses of workers have inexhaustible wisdom and resources. With the policy of self-reliance breaking open this rich treasure store, their wisdom will shine ever more brightly.

Make Technical Innovations Bear Fruits as Quickly as Possible

Through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the policy of self-reliance has been imprinted more deeply in the minds of people. The enthusiasm of the broad masses for socialism is soaring. Technical innovation activities are spreading vigorously. The leadership of the plant had originally intended to trial produce a new catalytic combustion enamelling machine before the advent of this year's National Day and then to gradually popularize it next year. But, once they were mobilized, the masses insisted on doing things in a big way and fast. They wanted to apply the new achievements of technical innovation to production at an early date so as to make more contributions toward national construction. They said: To win honor, we must do it quickly. We must not only make a few sample machines, we must use new techniques and new equipment to change the outlook of the whole workshop.

"The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius has aroused revolutionary enthusiasm for work beyond calculations." A vertical catalytic combustion enamelling machine weighs ten tons, is as high as a four-story building, and requires 1,600 mandays to make. Transforming the enamelling workshop and replacing 12 pieces of old equipment with 15 pieces of new equipment would require 20,000 to 30,000 mandays. The machine-building department of the plant can spare only some 80 workers, and the conversion project would not be completed in one year. There were also many difficulties regarding equipment and space. However, the workers, armed with the idea of self-reliance and showing dauntless revolutionary heroism, advanced against difficulties. The one responsible for design and drawing was formerly a

plating worker having the cultural level of a primary school student. He recognized that making this "honor-winning" machine was a political battle. To do his job more quickly, on his initiative he went to the worksite to discuss things with the workers. With their help, he completed all the drawing in some 20 days whereas it would have taken four months in ordinary times. Since there was no space for making the equipment, the workers put up a dozen temporary work sheds in corridors and passage ways outside their workshops. As manpower was not enough, the various workshops voluntarily spared some of their production workers to help. Moreover, the boundaries of work were removed, with everyone learning to do many jobs. The plating worker could do the work of the welder; the grinder the work of the turner. Even the mason and the carpenter came forward to attend the lathes. Coming off their shifts, the production workers enthusiastically took part in voluntary labor. Almost everyone in the plant did something for technical innovation. When the power of the equipment was inadequate, the workers made it up by various simple and ingenious methods. Since the initiation of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they have successively fought three battles and gained increasingly good results. The first battle lasted 47 days when they built a horizontal catalytic combustion enamelling machine with seven layers of drying boxes; the second battle lasted eight days and eight nights when they built a vertical catalytic combustion enamelling machine; the third battle lasted over three months when they successfully built a new workshop equipped with new techniques and changed the outlook of production techniques completely. By the end of September, most of the new equipment went into operation. Not only were tasks which remained unfinished brought up to schedule and the production task for September fulfilled, but the output was 50 percent higher than originally planned.

Chairman Mao says: "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." As the experience of Chungkuo Electrical Appliance Plant in developing new techniques through self-reliance shows, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, if only we fully mobilize and rely on the masses, we shall be able to continuously raise the technical level of production, fulfill and overfulfill state plans, and quicken the pace of China's socialist construction.

Investigation Team of Shanghai Municipal Meters and Telecommunications Industrial Bureau.

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Somniloquy

by

Yang Ko (阳戈)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 11, Nov. 1, 1974)

Recently, Brezhnev, the chieftain of the Soviet revisionists, has again cried out against China. Apart from harping on the old tune about China taking the road of "opposing a socialist country (note: it should be changed to read social-imperialist country)", he uses a new phrase, that is, "turning over" a page of history of China adhering to the socialist road. (See Brezhnev's speech on October 6, 1974) His real intent is to incite a handful of reactionary elements to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism in China.

Yet this is no more than Brezhnev's somniloquy. In the early days, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique pinned all hope on Liu Shao-ch'i, through whose hands China's socialism would be "turned over." The mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the bourgeois headquarters led by Liu Shao-ch'i. Their pipe dream was dashed. This was a good thing to the Chinese people and a "great tragedy" to Brezhnev. Later, he pinned his hope on Lin Piao. Before this "superspy" had the time to say "something decisive," he crashed to death in Undur Khan, and the pipe dream was dashed again. History has repeatedly proved that China's proletarian dictatorship is solid and powerful and that her socialist red rivers and mountains cannot be overthrown. Whoever wants to "overthrow" them is sure to be crushed into pieces. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a group of reactionaries, who have always worked out their calculations on the idealist basis. Since they would not accept these historical lessons, they also would not change their course of action. They keep on dreaming of "turning over" China's socialism.

Brezhnev's somniloquy is useful to us in a certain sense. He has once more told us by negative example that the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries have not given up hope to destroy China and that they are always searching for agents in our country in a vain attempt to subvert China's proletarian dictatorship. They mean to make trouble to the last. As Chairman Mao points out, "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again....till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause and they will never go against this logic." We must never lose our vigilance because we have won victories.

Brezhnev's somniloquy precisely reveals the plight of social-imperialism at home and abroad. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has not only met with opposition by the world's people, but at home it is sitting on the volcano of a revolution waged by the people against revisionism. It may erupt any time. The revisionist rule won't last long. The proletariat and revolutionary people of the Soviet Union must and will surely "turn over" completely a dark page of history of revisionist rule. If you don't believe it, please wait and see.

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